UNITED NATIONS

SECURITY COUNCIL
OFFICIAL RECORDS

THIRTY-NINTH YEAR

2529th MEETING: 4 APRIL 1984

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

	Page
Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2529)	1
Adoption of the agenda	1
Letter dated 29 March 1984 from the Permanent Representative of Nicaragua to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/16449)	1

NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

Documents of the Security Council (symbol S/...) are normally published in quarterly *Supplements* of the *Official Records of the Security Council*. The date of the document indicates the supplement in which it appears or in which information about it is given.

The resolutions of the Security Council, numbered in accordance with a system adopted in 1964, are published in yearly volumes of *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council*. The new system, which has been applied retroactively to resolutions adopted before 1 January 1965, became fully operative on that date.

2529th MEETING

Held in New York on Wednesday, 4 April 1984, at 3.30 p.m.

President: Mr. Vladimir A. KRAVETS (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic).

Present: The representatives of the following States: China, Egypt, France, India, Malta, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Peru, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Upper Volta, Zimbabwe.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2529)

1. Adoption of the agenda

2. Letter dated 29 March 1984 from the Permanent Representative of Nicaragua to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/16449)

The meeting was called to order at 4.40 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Letter dated 29 March 1984 from the Permanent Representative of Nicaragua to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/16449)

1. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: In accordance with the decisions taken at previous meetings on this item [*2525th, 2527th and 2528th meetings*], I invite the representatives of Algeria, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, El Salvador, Ethiopia, the German Democratic Republic, Guyana, Honduras, Hungary, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Mexico, the Seychelles, the Syrian Arab Republic and Viet Nam to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Sahnoun (Algeria), Mr. Roa Kourí (Cuba), Mr. Kovačič (Czechoslovakia), Mr. Al-Alfi (Democratic Yemen), Mr. Romero Sanchez (El Salvador), Mr. Ibrahim (Ethiopia), Mr. Ott (German Democratic Republic), Mr. Sinclair (Guyana), Mr. Flores Bermúdez (Honduras), Mr. Rácz (Hungary), Mr. Kittikhoun (Lao People's Democratic Republic), Mr. Burwin (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya), Mr. Marín Bosch (Mexico), Ms. Gonthier (Seychelles), Mr. El-Fattal (Syrian Arab Republic) and Mr. Le Kim Chung (Viet Nam) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Afghanistan, Costa Rica, Guatemala and Yugoslavia in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance with the usual practice I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in conformity with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Zarif (Afghanistan), Mr. Zumbado Jiménez (Costa Rica), Mr. Fajardo-Maldonado (Guatemala) and Mr. Golob (Yugoslavia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

3. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: The Security Council will now resume its consideration of the item on its agenda.

4. Mr. CHAMORRO MORA (Nicaragua) [*interpretation from Spanish*]: With reference to the draft resolution in document S/16463, submitted by my delegation, I wish to inform the Council that some minor changes have been handed in to the Secretariat for later distribution to members of the Council. Nicaragua thus hopes that members will be able to vote on the draft once the debate has concluded.

5. Mr. van der STOEL (Netherlands): First, I should like to express to you, Sir, my congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of April. Next, I should like to pay a tribute to your predecessor for the excellent way in which he conducted this Council's affairs during the month of March. We remember with particular gratitude the skill and impartiality displayed by Mr. Arias Stella during the very busy and sometimes difficult meetings which marked the end of his tenure.

6. Once again the Security Council is asked to consider the crisis in Central America, a crisis which is closely related to the processes of change in which the countries of the region are immersed. The endemic social inequalities, injustice and economic underdevelopment are at the root of the present crisis, which is no doubt aggravated by outside interference.

7. The Security Council, in its resolution 530 (1983) of May 1983, and the General Assembly, in its resolution 38/10, unanimously endorsed the efforts of the four

Latin American countries constituting the Contadora Group, which have taken the lead in the search for peace in Central America. Indeed, the regional framework of Contadora would seem to be the most appropriate and promising approach to a settlement of the disputes in the area, and we are glad to note that since its establishment the Contadora Group has made considerable progress.

8. When the Group met with the five Central American republics in Panama in September 1983, a Document of Objectives [*S/16041, annex*] was adopted which not only clearly established the principles to be observed in order to reduce the conflicts and create peaceful conditions in the area, but also set out a number of political and economic objectives for the Central American States. By accepting that Document, all Central American States agreed that the use of overt and covert force or the threat of force must be discontinued and that the traffic in arms must stop. Furthermore, various measures to reduce the militarization of the area were considered, and all the participants in that meeting committed themselves to respect for the promotion of human rights as well as to the adoption of measures conducive to the establishment of fully democratic, representative and pluralistic systems of government. Finally, the document stressed the intention of the signatories to take economic and social measures with the aim of promoting the well-being of the peoples in the area and arriving at a more equitable distribution of wealth.

9. We have been informed that negotiations are going on with the objective of working out formal agreements between the Central American countries based on the goals contained in the Document of Objectives. We hope that those negotiations will lead to the desired concrete results as soon as possible.

10. At the present time, however, acts of violence against countries of the region continue, in spite of the efforts of the Contadora Group and the unanimous support of these efforts by the Security Council and the General Assembly. Almost daily we learn from official Council documents of complaints by Nicaragua and its neighbours about violations of their sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity. We also continue to receive reports concerning gross violations of human rights in the area, as well as of attacks on public works, energy storage facilities and other targets, which have resulted occasionally in the loss of human life and a reduction in economic production.

11. A new development in this spiral of violence is the mining of Nicaraguan harbours, which has grave implications for the right of free navigation. On 1 March a Dutch dredging vessel, the *Geopotes VI*, was seriously damaged by an explosion while in the port of Corinto, causing injury to four people aboard.

12. It is our firm conviction that peace and security can return to the region of Central America only if these and other violations of international law come to an end and if the principles formulated by the Contadora Group are fully respected by all concerned.

13. As members of the Council we should do all we can to assist the Contadora countries in their efforts to work out a peaceful solution to the conflict in Central America. Least of all should we make life more difficult for the members of the Group. Therefore, we appeal to all States to respect the stated objectives worked out by the Contadora Group and to uphold scrupulously the principles of non-intervention, sovereignty and territorial integrity. The republics of Central America should be given the opportunity to solve their own not inconsiderable problems, free from outside intervention and with due respect for their right of self-determination, so as to enable the peoples of those countries to develop their societies in peace.

14. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: The next speaker is the representative of Viet Nam. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

15. Mr. LE KIM CHUNG (Viet Nam): Allow me at the outset, Mr. President, to join other representatives in congratulating you on your assumption of the stewardship of the Council for this month, even though you have said you would prefer fulfilling your duties to receiving words of praise. We fully believe that you will give us the benefits of your sense of responsibility, your skills and experience, and that you will guide the Council's work to success. We would also like to thank your predecessor, Mr. Javier Arias Stella of Peru, for the manner in which he guided the work of the Council during the month of March. Finally, we would thank all the other members of the Council for giving us this opportunity to take part in the discussion.

16. In the last few weeks Central America has become the focal point of world-wide attention. The situation in that already troubled region has been aggravated by the continued military activities directed by the United States against Nicaragua. These acts, reports of which abound in daily newspapers here in the United States, have actually taken their heavy toll: properties have been destroyed, human lives lost and international navigation endangered. We have listened attentively to other speakers and especially to the statement of Mr. Javier Chamorro Mora before the Council last Friday [*2525th meeting*], in which he unrolled before us, with full, solid and undeniable facts, all these covert and overt acts by the United States against his country —acts that, he stressed, marked a new phase of the aggression.

17. Within only a few months Nicaragua has had to lodge several protests against the United States before the Council. Unlike the representative of the host country with her lengthy preaching on the regional situation, which obviously reflects the conclusions of the United States bipartisan commission on Central America, we

share the true concern of the Government and people of Nicaragua, a small people whose only preoccupation is to rebuild its ravaged country and whose sovereignty and independence are endangered by the policies of intervention and aggression of a big Power which happens to be a permanent member of the Security Council—a people that has every right to come to this forum for justice and to ask its friends, as well as other peace-loving peoples, for help.

18. Let us linger for a while to draw an analogy, in the most pregnant sense of the word, between what is happening in Nicaragua and what happened in Viet Nam. The United States directly participated in the Viet Nam war; it used almost all kinds of weapons except the nuclear one. It also mined Haiphong, the most important port in North Viet Nam, thus starting the blockade against our country. The mining and the blockade were followed by the B-52 bombers' carpet-bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong for seven days and nights in late December 1972, killing many innocent Vietnamese children and adults—ironically, at a time when representatives were sitting around this table wishing one another Merry Christmas.

19. But the United States ended up with a Dien Bien Phu in the air, and with this it had to admit defeat and stated that there would be no second Viet Nam. Now it seems to have forgotten its bitter experience. The withdrawal from Lebanon serves as another lesson to the United States, but what is happening in Nicaragua and in Central American shows that it is setting out again on the same old track.

20. The mining of Nicaraguan ports, as Mr. Chamorro Mora put it, is a turning point in the United States method of waging "covert war" against Nicaragua. It is obviously a new step taken by the United States imperialists in their military escalation, in an attempt to wage a large-scale war of aggression against Nicaragua and to oppose the national liberation movements in El Salvador and elsewhere in Central America and the Caribbean area, thus seriously jeopardizing peace and stability in the region. But the United States should be reminded that its dream of dominating other peoples, of invading other countries Grenada-style, should not and never can be realized. The aggressor cannot get away clean-handed. The people and Government of Nicaragua have stated in the clearest terms their determination to defend their beloved country.

21. Tension in the world is growing today owing to the policies of war pursued by the United States. The deployment of United States nuclear missiles in western Europe, which will turn that part of the world into a mass graveyard in the event of a nuclear war, is coupled with the worsening situation in many other parts of the world—the Middle East, north-east Asia, the Gulf and Africa—thus threatening the sovereignty and independence of many countries and endangering peace and security in the world.

22. Last week, the Council met to discuss a situation concerning the threat of aggression by the United States against Libya, a small non-aligned country, and now it is discussing a complaint by Nicaragua, another small non-aligned country. We can easily see who should be held responsible for all these developments. Also, we are right to ask whether in fact the United States is seeking confrontation with the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, just as it has so far challenged the third world in its legitimate demand for a new international economic order. We do not have to seek far for the answer.

23. The people and Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, faithful to their friends, stand firm behind the Nicaraguan people and the Government of National Reconstruction, as well as behind the people of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and all other peoples fighting for their national independence. The acts by the United States against Nicaragua directly threaten the sovereignty and independence of that country and hamper the earnest efforts of the Contadora Group to ease tension and work out a political solution to the problems of the region. An immediate end should be put to the United States acts of aggression against Nicaragua.

24. We sincerely urge the Council to act firmly and to adopt the draft resolution before it. It is time, we believe, for this body to take effective measures to show that it is really living up to its responsibility in conformity with the Charter, that is, to preserve peace and security in the world and to safeguard peoples from threats or acts of aggression and intimidation.

25. In conclusion, we should like to quote part of the statement issued on 22 March 1984 by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, which reads as follows:

> "The people and the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam strongly condemn the new steps of military escalation and the threat of aggression by the United States imperialists and resolutely demand that the United States stop at once all plots and acts of aggression against Nicaragua and other countries in the region, withdraw immediately its troops and war *matériel* from Central America and respond seriously to the legitimate demands expressed in the recent four-point proposal of the Nicaraguan Government, as well as to the efforts of the Contadora Group for a political solution to the conflicts in Central America.
>
> "The people and the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam once again reaffirm their unshakeable militant solidarity with the fraternal Nicaraguan people in their national defence and construction, fully support the 13 March 1984 appeal of the Junta of the Government of National Reconstruction of Nicaragua and firmly believe that the heroic Nicaraguan people, under the leadership of the San-

dinist National Liberation Front and the Government of National Reconstruction, will foil all hostile acts of the United States imperialists and their henchmen and successfully defend their beloved homeland and their revolutionary gains, thereby actively contributing to the cause of peace and stability in Latin America and other parts of the world."

26. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: The next speaker is the representative of Costa Rica. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

27. Mr. ZUMBADO JIMÉNEZ (Costa Rica) [*interpretation from Spanish*]: I wish to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of April. Your experience and ability will guarantee the successful outcome of the Council's difficult work.

28. Today as in the past, Costa Rica is an exception to the continual crises in the Central American isthmus. Through fratricidal warfare and internal turmoil —a tragic mark of our region—we learned to exist and coexist in peace. Hence, in his historic act of 17 November 1983, the President of the Republic, Luis Alberto Monge, proclaimed the permanent, active and unarmed neutrality of Costa Rica. When he spoke of the history of our people, he extolled the milestones of our republican, democratic existence, which have come gradually to shape and ultimately to affirm the national identity of Costa Rica. He discussed the guidelines which throughout my country's history have governed its relations with all the peoples of the world, and particularly with our brothers in Central America.

29. It is in nationhood itself that the President finds the origin and strength of the neutrality he has proclaimed. Recalling stern visionaries, he is forging history and demonstrating to the people his exemplary decision-making abilities and leadership.

30. A country teacher who became head of State of Costa Rica, Juan Mora Fernandez, in a message to the National Congress in 1829 said:

"While all of the Central American Republic seems to be divided and in tears, covered with blood and ashes and consumed with despair; while all of Central America suffers the ravages, ruin and desolation caused by the consuming fires of passion, discord and civil war in other States, you will be pleased to note that Costa Rica is a masterpiece in miniature —an idyllic country illuminated by the glowing aura of peace, for its political horizon, thanks to a Government based on Costa Rican virtues, morality and common sense, has remained free and clear of the ominous clouds, storms and squalls which have swept over other, less fortunate countries, even though we have sought their salvation in all earnest, and, despite our small size, made every effort to help alleviate their agony."

31. Thirty-four years later, another masterful leader who served as President of the Republic, Jesus Jiménez, declared the following to the Congress:

"Unfortunately, other nations in Central America are involved in a struggle which the Government of Costa Rica has not been able to avoid through a peaceful settlement. . . . Costa Rica will maintain its neutrality, but it will always remain ready to use its influence for peace in Central America."

32. A century ago, another President of the Republic, Bernardo Soto, said:

"To those for whom the lessons of history are not dead letters, the Government over which I presided felt that the greatest threat to peace and harmony among peoples lay in the tendency of some—unfortunately, not uncommon in America—to meddle in the internal affairs of others. In keeping with this belief, it always refrained from getting involved in anything not strictly relevant to its own interests, except when it came to acting as mediator to re-establish harmony, if it felt that to do so would not be a waste of time and effort. This approach is not derived from self-interest, for that is not the proper designation for respect for the Governments and institutions of other countries. It flows from the character of the Costa Rican people, enemy of complications and not given to reckless adventures; it derives from the spirit with which I wished to imbue the Government, concerning myself largely with achieving what was good within the proper purview of my activities and not with gaining sway and influence abroad; finally, it flows from my conviction that he who meddles in the affairs of his neighbours exposes his own country to endless difficulties and disasters."

33. In recalling our history as an anti-militaristic and pro-democratic Republic, President Monge said:

"José Figueres, a farmer who organized the people in order to restore democratic institutions, some forty years ago wrote a glorious page in the constant progress of man down the noble path of civilization. In an unparalleled act in history, the victorious general disbanded his army, uttering the following beautiful exhortation: 'We resolutely maintain the ideal of an American world. To this homeland of Washington, Lincoln, Bolívar and Martí we wish to say today: "O America! Other peoples and your own sons too offer you their greatness. Tiny Costa Rica wishes to offer you now and forever its heart and its love for anti-militarism, democracy and institutional life." ' "

34. My country offers its contribution to the quest for peace and harmony in Central America and peace throughout the world. The declaration of neutrality within the regional context must be construed as a significant sovereign declaration of explicit and final

renunciation of military solutions to the problems which are disturbing and destroying Central America; it is the culmination of the electoral promise made by President Monge during the successful campaign that brought him to the presidency. In defining neutrality as the backbone of his foreign policy, he has met the historic tradition and aspirations of the Costa Rican people.

35. In the sort time since that declaration, the Government has clearly shown in its actions that it is committed to its purpose. Costa Rica is not taking part in any kind of military manoeuvres in Central America. Costa Rica is not represented in meetings of the military within or outside the region. It does not send any member of its civilian police force to receive military training in centres recently set up in Central American territory. The forces responsible for security in Costa Rica have not carried out any attacks—nor will they do so—that might jeopardize the sovereignty and security of our country and those of neighbouring countries. The impact on the international community of the declaration of neutrality and the recognition of my country's efforts for peace are reflected in the following ways.

36. The President of France, François Mitterrand, wrote to President Monge as follows:

> "You have solemnly declared Costa Rica's neutrality. It is of the utmost importance that, despite the economic crisis and the unrest in Central America, Costa Rica has managed to maintain its democratic institutions and today wishes publicly to proclaim its independence and its freedom of choice. This is an essential contribution to the cause of democracy and of peace, which France cannot but welcome, since the chain of violence makes the search for negotiated solutions sought by the peoples of the region increasingly difficult."

37. The President of the Government of Spain, Felipe González, said:

> "The Spanish Government fully supports the declaration of neutrality made by the Government of Costa Rica, convinced as it is that such a decision, which is aimed at the maintenance of peace in international relations, will serve to enhance understanding among peoples and Governments and to alleviate existing tension in the Central American region."

38. The Socialist International, meeting at Brussels, adopted a resolution which says:

> "The Socialist International supports the declaration of neutrality made by the President of Costa Rica, Comrade Luis Alberto Monge. The Socialist International calls for recognition by all countries of the world of this declaration of neutrality by a country without an army, a country which is struggling for its development in peace, freedom, democracy and respect for human rights and which with courage, effort and imagination is remaining outside conflicts affecting the Central American and Caribbean region. In a highly troubled region, Costa Rica is a shining example as a country which channels military expenditures towards education, culture, health and social well-being, towards peace as an integral development of man: principles the Socialist International holds in high esteem."

39. Presidents Raúl Alfonsín of Argentina, Jaime Lusinchi of Venezuela, Hernán Siles Suazo of Bolivia, Belisario Betancur of Colombia, Salvador Jorge Blanco of the Dominican Republic, Ricardo de la Espriella of Panama and Daniel Ortega Saavedra, Co-ordinator of the Governing Junta of Nicaragua, signed in Caracas the following declaration:

> "We express our sympathy for the efforts of the Government of Costa Rica to institutionalize its active and effective neutrality, understanding thereby that the Government of that country will continue its activities to guarantee peace in the Central American region."

40. The Secretary-General of the United Nations wrote to President Monge as follows:

> "In so disturbed a political period as the present, your personal policy and your country provide a reassuring example of peace, realism and vision. Your solemn proclamation of 17 November 1983 of the permanent, active and unarmed neutrality of Costa Rica is a particularly positive act."

41. Here and in other bodies we have said repeatedly that Costa Rica has placed its faith in the Contadora process and supports it. Latin America has a long experience and tradition of diplomacy. The concept of peaceful settlement of disputes derives in part from the Congress of Panama of Simón Bolívar; we Latin Americans took our experience of the inter-American system to San Francisco. Our region is the only one that has a treaty banning nuclear weapons. At the recent Quito meeting, our identification and our solidarity were reaffirmed, as was the defence of the basic principles of international law.

42. The efforts of the Contadora Group conform to this tradition. Its existence is proof that there is a proper political forum where Central Americans can and must find their own solutions. We confess our doubts and apprehension that in the broader international sphere we Central Americans may largely lose control over our own future.

43. Despite premature announcements in the past of the demise of Contadora, there was a quantum leap on 9 September 1983, when the five Central American countries adopted the Document of Objectives [*S/16041, annex*] setting forth 21 points, known to this Council, and on 8 January 1984, when they adopted the

measures to be taken to fulfil the commitments entered into in the Document of Objectives [*S/16262, annex I, appendix*], thus proving the validity of the process.

44. My Government is convinced that after this new stage, another important step forward will be taken that will reflect the degree of our Governments' political commitment. We are getting to the heart of the problem, and it is possible that negotiations may thus be more difficult, because that is when the most effort has to be made to make the process successful.

45. At this moment the Working Commissions of the Contadora Group are meeting in Panama to find targets that will lead to the objective of peace in our region. Nicaragua, arguing for a qualitative change in the Central American situation, called upon each of the Commissions to give priority consideration to the problem of that country's security, putting forward for consideration at that meeting a document setting forth its position. That paper was taken up at the meeting and it will be put before the next meeting of ministers for consideration. The Commissions are now continuing discussions on other items within their competence in the political, economic and security spheres. The Security Council must be aware—and I am not saying this to offend anybody—that its meetings have caused some consternation at the meeting at Panama and increased tension among the Central American countries in that forum. This, of course, is not the only factor causing tension in our region.

46. In the light of the foregoing, my Government's position is as follows. Costa Rica is interested, and I am sure this interest is shared by the Council, in seeing that the mandate and support of the Contadora Group is not weakened. The spirit that led to the General Assembly's adopting resolution 38/10 by consensus at its thirty-eighth session must be maintained. That resolution repeated the need for strict observance of the principles of international law, endorsed the efforts of the group of countries constituting the Contadora process and noted with satisfaction the commitment of those countries to strengthen democratic institutions as the most appropriate way of guaranteeing broad participation and promoting conciliation within Central American societies.

47. Since the Council has to take a decision on the question under debate, let it appeal to the countries concerned to carry out their mission in keeping with the Contadora guidelines. Once again, let an appeal be made to the rest of the international community to refrain from diverting the nine countries from their chosen path, and let there be strict respect for the principles of international law, above all to those referring to freedom of navigation. Let this Council uphold the principle that attention must be paid not only to matters relating to the security of States, however important they may be, but also to the need for progress in all fields, those dealing with political, economic and social development so essential for achieving lasting peace in its proper context.

48. President Monge said recently that contemporary experience in Central America reaffirms his conviction that war is the ultimate act of irrationality, the failure of all policy.

> "A policy of peace is the inescapable requirement of our time. Any foreign policy and any security policy must serve this idea. A policy of peace is the only genuine policy for our time."

49. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: The next speaker is the representative of the German Democratic Republic. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

50. Mr. OTT (German Democratic Republic): At the very outset, the delegation of the German Democratic Republic would like to thank the members of this body for giving us the opportunity to explain the German Democratic Republic's point of view on the issue that we have on the agenda.

51. Permit me, Mr. Kravets, to congratulate you warmly on you assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of April. We are convinced that you as the representative of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, with which my country has close and fraternal links, will exercise all your ability and diplomatic skills for the successful guidance of the Council in the interest of international peace and security. At the same time, the delegation of the German Democratic Republic wishes to congratulate the representative of Peru, Mr. Arias Stella, for his successful work, characterized by great diplomatic experience, which he accomplished as President for the month of March.

52. The German Democratic Republic is increasingly concerned that this lofty body has to deal in ever shorter periods of time with the escalation of aggressive acts against the sovereign and independent State of Nicaragua, a non-aligned country and a member of the Security Council. The representative of Nicaragua, Mr. Chamorro Mora, informed the world public in a comprehensive manner before this forum about the new stage of aggressive acts, about the escalation of the undeclared war against his country. In particular, the mining of Nicaraguan ports is the expression of a new act of violence perpetrated by the United States against the legitimate Government of a State Member of the United Nations, in obvious violation of the basic norms of international law.

53. All attempts to deceive world public opinion and to veil the responsibility for those acts of war —attempts that were also made here in the Security Council—daily prove to be useless in the light of the facts.

54. The responsibility for the aggravation of the situation in Central America has to be borne by the United States of America. Even *The New York Times* wrote a

few days ago in connection with the attack on the Soviet tanker in the Nicaraguan port of Puerto Sandino:

> "The mines were sown at Puerto Sandino by contras who are funded, armed, supported, partly trained and largely organized by the Central Intelligence Agency for the express purpose of overthrowing the Nicaraguan Government. The Reagan Administration piously denied any responsibility for the mines, but that's like saying Mr. Reagan is not responsible for the CIA. Who's President? Who sanctions the contras? Who periodically seeks funds for them from Congress?" The newspaper continues, "What does he imagine the efforts of the CIA-directed contras amount to, if not 'State terrorism'?"

There is nothing to add to that evaluation.

55. We see a close connection between the mining of Nicaraguan ports, the increasing attacks against Nicaragua, the use of the territory of Honduras and the various military manoeuvres by United States armed forces in that region. Millions and millions of dollars are being spent by the present United States Administration for the suppression of the Central American peoples' will to freedom and for the undermining of legitimate Governments in that region.

56. The ruling circles of this country like to pretend to be the protector and guardian of free and unimpeded navigation and of its internationally recognized principles. Are those circles aware of the responsibility which they assume with the mining of Nicaraguan ports—a responsibility for the security of those ships, for the lives of their crews, for the whole of international navigation and the related recognized and accepted principles? Shall piracy again prevail in navigation, trade and traffic, or even in the whole of international life?

57. The peoples indeed well remember, and no one can make them forget, that the United States has already once dramatically aggravated a conflict by mining Vietnamese ports in 1972, thus escalating aggressive acts against a sovereign State. I express the hope that the lessons learned from the dirty war against the Vietnamese people and the other peoples of Indo-China have not been forgotten. The general question must be raised: are those imperialist forces really aware of the directions in which they are trying to push international relations? These acts of war against a sovereign State disprove verbal assertions by this Administration—also made here in the Security Council—that it is striving for an improvement in international relations.

58. The German Democratic Republic is in full agreement with the overwhelming majority of States in their demand for a peaceful settlement of disputable issues in Central America.

59. We reaffirm the point of view contained in the Political Declaration of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty, issued at Prague on 5 January 1983 [*S/15556, annex*], and the joint statement of the meeting of leading Party and State figures from Warsaw Treaty States held in Moscow on 28 June 1983 [*see S/15862, annex*] that disputable questions in Central America should be settled peacefully on the basis of mutual respect for independence and territorial integrity. That means that situations of conflict should be solved politically.

60. The escalation of the aggressive acts against Nicaragua is directed against the democratic process of reconstruction in Nicaragua as well as against the peaceful settlement of the conflict. We agree with the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, which declared in March this year:

> "Conscious of the urgent need to reduce tension in the area in order to facilitate dialogue, the Co-ordinating Bureau commended the constructive efforts of the Contadora Group towards finding a political solution to the problems of the region and urged them to continue their peace efforts." [*See S/16422, annex.*]

61. The German Democratic Republic condemns the aggressive machinations undertaken by the ruling circles of an imperialist great Power against sovereign, non-aligned Nicaragua. My country advocates the improvement of international relations and the unhindered development of all-round co-operation between States. The German Democratic Republic advocates the prevalence of reason and logic and rejects methods of the law of the strongest in international relations. We appeal to all States to demand the immediate termination of the mining of Nicaraguan ports as well as of any kind of covert and overt military action against Nicaragua and to provide all possible assistance to that country.

62. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: The next speaker is the representative of Yugoslavia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

63. Mr. GOLOB (Yugoslavia): First I congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the post of President of the Security Council and express our belief that in the course of the month of April you will, as always, relentlessly pursue the cause of peace, security and equitable international co-operation. I also congratulate your predecessor, Mr. Arias Stella, representative of Peru, on the political wisdom, dedication and persistence in the search for peace and negotiated political solutions that he showed during the month of March, carrying the heavy load of Security Council work during that period.

64. The situation in Central America is continuing to cause the international community grave concern and is repeatedly being considered by the Security Council and also by the General Assembly. Challenges to peace in Central America are immense, and their causes are well known. While the tensions have been rising and human and material resources have been wasted on

futile attempts to cow independence into submission and to disrupt sovereignty and the inviolability of borders in a regional war, numerous initiatives have been launched. These initiatives are aimed at solving the problems which threaten peace in the region, aggravate the critical political, social and economic situation in the countries of Central America and jeopardize international peace and security.

65. In the search for a peaceful solution the Contadora Group is making invaluable efforts to establish a joint basis on which the countries of Central America can build peace. The Contadora Group cannot do this alone. All directly and indirectly involved parties should show a full measure of co-operation and resolve to resort to political means and to build upon the values and principles evolved by Contadora together with five Central American countries.

66. Again, at this juncture the cause of peace may be helped if all those involved would recall that the international community as a whole and the non-aligned countries in particular have rendered full support to Contadora. They have done so because the efforts of the Contadora Group are motivated by an honest and selfless desire to identify a peaceful solution in the region itself, outside bloc and big-Power rivalry.

67. The Document of Objectives [*S/16041, annex*] was elaborated by the countries of the region with the help of Contadora. This Document reflects the realities facing Central America and constitutes a solid basis for the solution of the problem. It reaffirms the basic principles of international law and elaborates the principles related to the specific features of the region in order to achieve a political solution. The self-determination of peoples, non-intervention, the sovereign equality of States, the peaceful settlement of disputes, refraining from the threat or use of force, respect for the territorial integrity of States, pluralism in its various manifestations and other principles have been accepted by all the countries of the region as the foundation of a political solution of the problem.

68. Further action by the Contadora Group resulted in the adoption of concrete measures concerning security, political and economic and social issues which all the countries of the region have taken the responsibility to implement [*see S/16262, annex* I].

69. We find it very encouraging that Contadora managed to do all this in the context of present international relations, which are under ever-increasing strain, and notwithstanding the differences existing among the Central American countries themselves. Thus Contadora embodies our hopes for a process to bring peace to the region on the basis of mutual respect and respect for the rights of peoples and the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. We call for an end to all activities of regional and non-regional factors which can impede the process and increase the danger of the outbreak of war in the region. Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela have our full confidence, and we are giving them our utmost support.

70. Nicaragua is exposed to political, military and economic pressures aimed at undermining its independence and sovereignty and at undermining the sovereign right of the Nicaraguan people freely to decide on their economic and social development and their political system.

71. The Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi more than a year ago, rejected the threats and acts of intimidation and aggression against Nicaragua. None the less those acts have continued and have escalated further.

72. The Co-ordinating Bureau of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries met here in New York on 15 March. On that occasion the non-aligned recalled the relevant resolution of the General Assembly, resolution 38/10, which reaffirmed respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of all States of the region and their right to live in peace and to decide their own future free from all outside interference and intervention. That resolution was an important achievement and was adopted without a vote, which gives it added importance. We feel that the General Assembly has thus in effect pronounced itself against the export of social and economic models and their imposition from abroad. All the crises that engirdle the globe are caused by attempts of the more powerful and most powerful to impose and to dictate.

73. The repeated attempts to impose and dominate invariably meet with rejection by the international community. The will of the peoples to reject and resist these acts makes them unacceptable wherever they occur, and this is an encouragement for all of us. It is indispensable again to recognize that Nicaragua, as well as all other Central American countries, and for that matter all the countries of the world, have the right to independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, to life in peace without pressure, interference and intervention.

74. The communiqué adopted by the Co-ordinating Bureau nearly three weeks ago [*S/16422, annex*] calls for an immediate end to all foreign military manoeuvres and activities on Central American territories and coasts and an end to all installations of foreign military bases, as well as all threats, attacks and hostile acts against Nicaragua, which are contrary to the spirit of the peace efforts of the countries of the region. The non-aligned expressed their deep concern over the new escalation of those acts and condemned the mining of Nicaraguan seaports, which has caused loss of human life and heavy material damage and which endangers international navigation. At that meeting the non-aligned further expressed their firm opposition to any measure directed towards the blockade of any State in the region.

75. There is no doubt that there exist both the potential and the interest for a political solution as envisaged by Contadora. Their political basis, methods and procedures have received general support. We would express the wish that they will continue their constructive efforts to meet our hope that peace in Central America will be established and independence and sovereignty strengthened.

76. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: The next speaker is the representative of Honduras. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

77. Mr. FLORES BERMÚDEZ (Honduras) [*interpretation from Spanish*]: I wish, Sir, to express my delegation's satisfaction at seeing you presiding over the Council, since your broad experience and distinguished career are a guarantee of the successful outcome of the matters to be discussed in this body this month.

78. The debate on the complaint by the delegation of Nicaragua has been enriched by the opinions of various delegations that have shown their interest in the situation in Central America. It is our desire today to make another constructive contribution and to take advantage of the invitation extended to us to take part in these deliberations so as to make clear the framework within which these problems should be dealt.

79. In several statements mention has been made of historic factors besetting our region. For our part, we also wish to mention some things which have not yet been considered and which may serve to make better known the problems of the region.

80. Although historically the Central American countries have had much in common in their political, economic and social evolution, their relationship has not been characterized by equal and equitable development. Without going into too much detail, I would point to the case of Nicaragua and the contrast with recent historical developments in Honduras. While Nicaragua was suffering under a hateful dictatorship which tended to benefit only one family, in Honduras, steady social progress was being made through modern legislation which sought to regulate and harmonize labour-management relations. While in Nicaragua for more than 40 years ferocious repression was carried out against the people of that country, in Honduras, agrarian reform was gradually developing, together with civil service and social security legislation which reflected the interest in bringing together all sectors of the nation. While Nicaragua's foreign trade tended to benefit only the Somoza family, in Honduras the exportation of such important items as coffee benefited 45,000 Honduran families.

81. I do not wish to tire the Council with a detailed account of contrasts, but it is indeed our intention to make clear the fact that for more than 40 years the internal contradictions in Nicaragua were at the very opposite pole from the labour gains, progress in the agrarian sector and social advancement which gradually came about in our country.

82. The alternative sought by the people of Nicaragua through a violent, collective endeavour which involved every sector in that country—from peasants to industrialists—was the result of a political phenomenon not encountered in Honduras. The alternative sought by the people of Honduras was the peaceful path within an electoral process which gave rise to the establishment of a representative, democratic and pluralistic Government dedicated to working within a framework of peace so as to implement our development plans which are designed, not for the benefit of one family nor to respond to special interests, but to favour the national community, bearing in mind that the human being is the supreme value of society and State and that human dignity is inviolable.

83. Despite this democratic path which is now being strengthened in Honduras, my country is the object of aggression made manifest through a number of incidents by Nicaragua against our territorial integrity and civilian population. Those elements, which have obliged Honduras to strengthen its defences, are mainly the excessive and disproportionate amount of arms in Nicaragua, the constant harassment along our borders, the promotion of guerrilla groups which seek to undermine our democratic institutions, and the warmongering attitude of the Sandinist commanders, whose reckless, aggressive statements we mentioned earlier.

84. With our intervention we do not wish to get into a squabble with our neighbour, Nicaragua. What we do want is to say that to cast the Central American problem in terms of Nicaragua's interests, as reflected in the initial draft resolution submitted by that country, is a conceptual error. It is not just one country which is affected; it is not only one country which is suffering from conflicts. It is not only one people which is suffering and bewailing the fate of its children; it is not just Honduras and Nicaragua. It is a Central American problem, and it must be solved regionally. This view has been brought out again and again by all Central Americans throughout the Contadora negotiation process and must be reflected in the Security Council's considerations and in its decisions.

85. In that regard, we were pleased to hear the statements made today, and Monday afternoon [*2527th meeting*] by the representative of France, who noted with satisfaction the efforts of the four countries of the Contadora Group to facilitate the search for a settlement satisfactory to all countries of the region. As he declared, "The countries of Central America must be permitted once again to solve their problems for themselves." [*Ibid., para. 12.*] The representative of China also agreed that the affairs of the countries of the region must be left to their respective peoples and gave his support to the Contadora Group in its continued

efforts to achieve a peaceful and reasonable solution to the Central American question. The representative of Guyana made an appeal for a halt to the unbridled arms race and for peaceful negotiated solutions to problems in Central America, and he repeated that the Contadora process offered a practical and solid basis for achieving negotiated solutions for the problems among the States of Central America. Within the same context, we heard the statement made by the representative of Mexico. Amongst other things, he quoted the President of his country, who said during his recent visit to Colombia, "Contadora is a Latin American effort to resolve a Latin American conflict. The region is able to find its own answers to the problems affecting it." [*Ibid., para. 83.*]

86. Indeed, for 14 months we Central Americans have been engaged in negotiations to achieve peace in our region under the auspices of the Contadora Group. Those negotiations have made considerable progress, and right now the Working Commissions are meeting on aspects relating to political affairs, security and economic and social co-operation. This is a collective effort the aim of which is to create a zone of peace where the cohesive elements of freedom, justice and solidarity are permanent, standing values so that relations among our States may prosper. All of this would set aside the possibility of confrontation, establish regional security, strengthen integral democracy and give impetus to the economic and social development of our peoples.

87. The situation in Central America is complex and calls for a comprehensive solution. Any action by a United Nations body should be taken within that comprehensive context and should not be identified with the selective and special interests of only one of the parties.

88. None the less, the Nicaraguan tactics, of which we complained in the letter from the Government of Honduras dated 20 September 1983 to the President of the Security Council [*S/15995*], have systematically been consolidated. Those tactics, based as they are on an attitude of duplicity, include a disturbing campaign of disinformation intended to sow confusion and ambiguity with regard to what is really happening in Central America. They have also been condemned by my delegation in several of the statements we have made in recent months when the Security Council has met at Nicaragua's request.

89. Those activities by Nicaragua have occurred within the Contadora negotiating process. We have already mentioned the Working Commissions on political, security and economic and social questions that have been meeting at Panama City since the second of this month. Only last night we received from Panama the alarming news that for two consecutive days Nicaragua has blocked the activities of those Working Commissions, thereby hampering negotiations and preventing various matters from being taken up. Nicaragua has proposed the cessation of normal work in the Commissions in order that a decision might first be taken on a special question dealing with aspects of particular interest to Nicaragua. This attitude on the part of Nicaragua is hindering the activities of the Contadora Group, since the attempt to give priority to some items and to take biased actions runs counter to the regional approach that should prevail in those negotiations.

90. What Nicaragua is proposing in Panama is that so long as those Commissions take no decisions on military and security matters it will not allow work to proceed. That inflexible and arbitrary position is designed to bring about a crisis in the Contadora negotiations in order to do away with that subregional group and ultimately to bring the matter before the United Nations, thereby preventing Latin America and the Central American peoples themselves from solving their own problems within the Contadora framework. That framework has received the full support of the international community; it has found support in the positive thinking of most Central American statesmen and intellectuals and of the four countries members of the Contadora Group. It is a process that is fully able to take up and solve the problems of the region. Nevertheless, the essential element for the success of those negotiations is the will of the Central American countries themselves. It is sad to see that that element is lacking on the part of Nicaragua.

91. Indeed, yesterday in Panama, not only in the Security Affairs Commission but in the Political Affairs Commission as well, Nicaragua indicated that the main causes of the problems of Central America were the substantive military buildup in the region, the displacement of thousands of soldiers, the holding of joint manoeuvres in the area, the covert war against Nicaragua, the terrorist operations being carried out on its territory with the use of aircraft and attack-boats, the activities of the anti-Sandinist rebels, the violation of its territorial integrity and national sovereignty, the threat of force against Nicaragua and the lack of implementation of the principle of the self-determination of peoples.

92. That position of Nicaragua—that such matters should be taken up before any of the work of the Commissions can be resumed, including the work of the Commission for Economic and Social Questions—has created a crisis of bad faith in the Contadora process. What Nicaragua is really indicating as the cause of the problems are in fact only effects. Honduras has, in this body as well as in the Organization of American States (OAS) and within the Contadora Group itself, attempted to clarify the real causes. They include interference in Central America by an extracontinental Power, the breach of the terms of security in the region because of the disproportionate arming by Nicaragua, problems of an internal order caused by its authoritarian structures, its attempts to destabilize neighbouring régimes, the supplying to Nicaragua of

15,000 tons of weapons in 1983 alone, a Sandinist people's army of more than 25,000 men organized into 38 regular battalions, with a reserve force of 38,000 men, and a popular Sandinist militia numbering approximately 50,000 men.

93. The American military presence in Honduras amounts at present to approximately 1,700 men. For the moment, those are the major Central American manoeuvres that affect the territorial integrity of Nicaragua. What did indeed affect stability in the region was the sending, some three weeks ago, of 2,000 Cubans to Nicaragua. Those troops have had military training and partially replace young Cuban men and women who had been in Nicaragua. What does indeed affect stability in our region is the presence in Caribbean waters of the Soviet helicopter-carrier *Leningrad* and the Soviet destroyer *Udaloy*, accompanied by their respective frigates, the largest Soviet presence in the Caribbean since the end of the 1960s. What do have an effect and an impact on our negotiations are the threats from Commander Ortega Saavedra, the Nicaraguan Defence Minister, indicating the possibility that local guerrilla groups will mine the ports of Central America from Guatemala to Panama, as we noted on Friday, 30 March, before the Council [*2525th meeting*]. On Friday I also mentioned that following the statements by Commander Ortega Saavedra five bombs exploded in the cities of Tegucigalpa and San Pedro Sula, leaving one person dead. More recently there has been a sabotage of the electric power provided to some areas of Honduras from Costa Rica through Nicaragua, which has led to the rationing of electric power in various parts of our national territory.

94. Among other Nicaraguan activities that pose a threat to peace is the continuation of the illegal traffic in arms to guerrilla groups in other countries; it is also continuing to provide logistic support to insurgents in neighbouring States, while its agents visit Libya, Iran and North Korea, among other countries, for the purpose of acquiring more weapons. The mining of the Nicaraguan ports is an act the responsibility for which has been attributed to insurgent organizations operating in Nicaragua. Hence Nicaragua's claim that all States should refrain from carrying out any action that might hamper the exercise of the right to free navigation in the waters of the region does not reflect what is really happening, since the mining was due to the activities of Nicaraguan rebel groups.

95. With regard to Nicaragua's fulfilment of its international commitments, we are compelled to make reference to Nicaragua's electoral phenomenon and place it within the Contadora context, since that was among the 21 objectives adopted by all of the Central American countries on 9 September 1983 and subsequently ratified by each and every one of our Governments, including that of Nicaragua. The adoption of those objectives was one of the positive achievements in the negotiations that have been held under the auspices of the Contadora Group. The principal objective with reference to electoral processes in Central America reads as follows:

> "To adopt measures conducive to the establishment and, where appropriate, improvement of democratic, representative and pluralistic systems that will guarantee effective popular participation in the decision-making process and ensure that the various currents of opinion have free access to fair and regular elections based on the full observance of citizen's rights" [*see S/16041, annex*].

96. Another objective is

> "To promote national reconciliation efforts wherever deep divisions have taken place within society, with a view to fostering participation in democratic political processes in accordance with the law" [*ibid.*].

97. It is in the context of those commitments that we must consider the electoral preparations in Nicaragua. Looking at current developments in the electoral process we find the following discouraging elements. In Nicaragua certain sectors are forbidden to participate. The amnesty decreed by the Sandinist Government did not pardon political and related common crimes, which would have permitted Miskito refugees in Honduras and other Nicaraguans who are out of the country to return with suitable guarantees. The Government of Nicaragua continues to enforce the law of confiscation and expropriation, used against those who oppose the régime in power, and the national emergency law under which constitutional guarantees were and still are suspended. The Nicaraguan opposition has serious questions about the political process in that country. Indeed, even internationally recognized officials from European countries whose democratic traditions are long standing have expressed concern about the lack of conditions that would guarantee impartiality and equal opportunity for full participation by all sectors.

98. Evidence of this includes the absence of an electoral roll or list, while those under 18 years of age are allowed to vote—16-year-olds are permitted to vote—so that young people completely without political experience can be manipulated. All members of the Sandinist People's Army and of the other security forces are permitted to vote. There is no guarantee of the right of assembly, the right of association or the right of free expression, which are essential for carrying on an election campaign. There is an enormous imbalance between the opposition parties and the official party, when one considers the pure and absolute identity among the Sandinist National Liberation Front, the Government and the Sandinist People's Army. That represents a close linkage of the powers of the State with the Sandinist political organization, which involves the use of State resources and of the State's coercive power and communications media for its own political advantage in the election campaign. The Nicaraguan opposition complains that it does not have the same opportunities.

99. The opposition in Nicaragua has also questioned the Sandinist Government's intentions regarding the elections, since the Government has violated one of the principles set forth in the Statute of Fundamental Guarantees of 1979, which states that a constituent assembly shall be elected. Now, simultaneous elections have been called for a constituent assembly and for the presidency, for a six-year term. That is contrary to the legal logic applicable here and militates against the democratic process: there can be no advance in the State system without the constituent assembly taking a prior decision.

100. The Nicaraguan Council of State had been discussing the electoral law, initially with the participation of nearly all sectors in the country. But because of the points I mentioned before, those sectors have withdrawn in protest against the way in which the Government is trying to manipulate the electoral process. Among the institutions which have withdrawn are the Liberal Conservative Party, the Social Democratic Party, the Democratic Conservative Party, the Confederation of Trade Union Unification, the Social Christian Party and the non-Sandinist Worker's Central.

101. I wish to quote the Chairman of the Nicaraguan Bishops' Conference, Monsignor Pablo Antonio Vega, who, with reference to the consideration of the electoral law by the Nicaraguan Council of State, said that that Council is a "totalitarian sham".

102. To illustrate that fact we need only refer to the discussions going on in the Nicaraguan Council of State. Government officials have said there that the opposition will have the right to one hour per week for carrying out its political campaign on television and radio; those media belong to the State, that is, to the Sandinist Front. Thus, the time available will be less than 10 minutes a day, and that time will have to be shared out among the opposition parties. Owing to those arbitrary, minimal conditions, the opposition has asked for more time for its campaign, especially since the Sandinist Front already has nearly five years of campaigning behind it.

103. In addition, the opposition published, on 24 December 1983, a manifesto denouncing the Government's fraudulent intentions regarding the election. That manifesto was signed by the Nicaraguan Worker's Central, the Confederation of Trade Union Unification, the Democratic Conservative Party, the Social Christian Party, the Social Democratic Party, the Authentic Social Christian Popular Party, the Nicaraguan Chamber of Industry, the Nicaraguan Chamber of Construction, the Nicaraguan Confederation of Professional Associations, the Confederation of Chambers of Commerce, the Nicaraguan Development Institute and the Union of Agricultural Producers. The manifesto called for the separation of State and party, the abandonment of laws which infringe on human rights, a genuine amnesty, respect for freedom of religion, an independent judiciary, the elimination of restrictions on the law of *habeas corpus* and a national dialogue on the question of elections.

104. In another communiqué, dated 21 February 1984, the armed opposition made up of the two groups struggling within Nicaragua, one in the north and the other in the south, also rejected the electoral process as put forward and expressed its desire to participate in an open, honest electoral process, with equal opportunities and appropriate guarantees.

105. All this opposition to the electoral masquerade makes us think about the situation in Nicaragua. We wonder whether the Government of Nicaragua is adopting measures which could lead to the establishment of a representative, pluralist democratic system, guaranteeing effective popular participation. We wonder whether by acting in the way which has been denounced by the Nicaraguan opposition the Government is promoting action towards national reconciliation, as it has undertaken to do in accordance with the points adopted in the Contadora negotiations.

106. The answer is no, for what they have done is to call for more weapons, for more political control and for increasing structural rigidity.

107. I have mentioned these internal problems of Nicaragua for the sole purpose of showing how they extend beyond the borders of that country, with a considerable negative effect on our interest in the development of our democratic institutions, in order to fulfil our development plans and meet the vital needs of our population. Honduras is the first to support multilateral negotiations within the Contadora framework in order to find a negotiated peaceful solution to the problems of the region, problems which are concentrated in Nicaragua.

108. The Ministers for External Relations of Costa Rica and Honduras met a few days ago at Tegucigalpa, and on 26 March they issued a joint statement, the pertinent part of which said:

> "They agreed that the democratic, representative and pluralist system is the only system for political development guaranteeing the effective exercise of freedom and the full enjoyment of human rights. In this regard they reiterated the firm purpose of both Governments to promote and strengthen democracy in the region. They reaffirmed the decision of their Governments to seek a peaceful comprehensive regional settlement of the crisis in Central America and pointed out the appropriateness of making every necessary effort to see that the countries of the region finally take the path of political, economic and social democracy. They drew the attention of the international community to the need to find appropriate means to guarantee security for the Central American region based on the principles of non-intervention, rejection of the threat or use of force and the use

of peaceful procedures for the solution of disputes among States, as well as on the urgent need to put an end to the arms race through fully verifiable agreements establishing a reasonable balance of force in Central America."

109. There can be no exception in the Central American crisis. It is our hope that our neighbour will carry through the commitments of Contadora, not only with regard to its internal political process, but also with regard to the other crucial points which it is necessary to carry through regionally, with regard to disarmament and other military aspects which are implicit in the problems of Central America.

110. The joint Technical Group, at the foreign minister level, has described Nicaragua's attitude within the Contadora Group and at the meetings which should be going on right now in Panama as a boycott; it proposes that every time should be taken up in its respective field. However, we have been told that Nicaragua is continuing to insist, even in the Commission for Economic and Social Questions of Contadora, that military and security items should be discussed first. That Commission has vital functions in the economic and social area, since it is in that field that the many causes of the Central American conflict can be found. It is counterproductive to underestimate the valuable contribution that could be made in dealing with causes and not effects.

111. In Panama the delegations of Honduras, Costa Rica, Guatemala and El Salvador are at this moment being prevented by Nicaragua from taking up the work on their agenda. It is a matter of concern that priority should be sought on so small a number of the 21 points, however important, of the Document of Objectives, thus preventing a comprehensive and simultaneous discussion of all the problems of the region. My delegation also wishes to express its concern that not all countries that have offered their good offices, such as the Contadora Group, have adopted impartial approaches to ensure the success of the negotiations.

112. Since July 1983 Nicaragua has insisted in the Contadora negotiations that partial agreements should be reached to meet its own special interests, whether or not they satisfy the other countries of the region. Throughout the negotiations Nicaragua's approach has been unilateral. It has insisted on dividing the discussion of security matters into two stages, serving only its own self-interest: first, immediate action tending to satisfy solely Nicaragua; and, secondly, the long-term aspects of security and common interests.

113. In July 1983, during the third meeting of Contadora, Nicaragua highlighted ongoing activities in order to appear once again the victim. On 9 September 1983, at the fourth meeting of Contadora, the eight countries unanimously responded to Nicaraguan claims about the global nature of the Central American conflict—which was why Nicaragua had to accept the Document of Objectives serving as the basis for all negotiations that would henceforth be carried out. None the less, although Nicaragua had made a commitment of support for the 21 points in the Document, it continued to boycott the Contadora meetings, keeping it in recess from September last year to January this year, a period during which it sought to bring the matter to the Security Council and even before the General Assembly, so as to take it out of the hands of Contadora. These intentions of Nicaragua run counter to General Assembly resolution 38/10, adopted on 11 November last year, to the effect that Central American conflicts should not be made part of the East-West confrontation.

114. In November 1983, during the General Assembly of the Organization of American States, headquartered in Washington, in the Embassy of Panama in that city agreement was reached to convene the Technical Group of Contadora in meetings on 1 and 2 December. This proved impossible, because using the same delaying tactic Nicaragua proposed a written commitment on military and security aspects, a tactic which is faithfully reflected in the draft resolution it has introduced here, a draft resolution which is selective, since it takes into account only the interests of that country without considering the other matters related to the regional peace process and departs from the objectives endorsed by the Central American countries at the joint meeting of Ministers for External Relations held in Panama last September.

115. At the fifth joint meeting of Foreign Ministers, held on 7 and 8 January this year, the delegation of Nicaragua again presented its unilateral interests, seeking to use Contadora only for its own ends. None the less, at that meeting the decision was adopted to set up three commissions on the basis of the document of measures to be taken to fulfil the commitments entered into in the Document of Objectives [*S/16262, annex I, appendix*]. There is now ample information that those three commissions are designed to deal, first, with political affairs; secondly, security matters; and, thirdly, social and economic questions.

116. As we have made clear here and on other occasions, all this is part and parcel of Nicaragua's unswerving attempt to create a crisis in the peace negotiations, thereby doing away with that sub-regional body for the sole purpose of making the United Nations intervene in the conflict.

117. As the representative of a Central American country, I have asked to speak today so that our voice, which reflects the position of a State which has taken an active part in restoring regional peace, can be heard with the attention it deserves. Many statements have been made here supporting the Contadora process. If there is a real commitment in favour of the Contadora initiative, serious account must be taken of the fact that endorsement of the unilateral interests of Nicaragua in the terms of the draft resolution contained in document

S/16463 would also mean support for that country so that its actions within the context of the Contadora negotiations will continue to harm that process. In the terms in which they are expressed, those actions seriously threaten to destroy the Contadora initiative; they threaten to destroy a process which has received the praise of the international community and earned the pride of Latin Americans—a process which represents the maturity and responsibility of our peoples to resolve our own problems by ourselves. It also embodies the hope of Central Americans to overcome their difficult situation by peaceful means. To take part in any support for this draft resolution would therefore involve a responsibility of historic proportions that the members of this Council must weigh carefully. This is not just a political endorsement for Nicaragua. What is at stake here is the future of the negotiating process for peace, the future of Central America.

118. It is timely to bring to the attention of the Council the words of the Secretary-General as they appear in the Panamanian daily *La Estrella* in its edition of 3 March—that is, less than 24 hours ago—which reads, "Doctor Javier Pérez de Cuéllar described as highly encouraging the report of the Panamanian Foreign Minister" on the peaceful activities of the Contadora Group, adding that "what must be avoided is a diplomatic vacuum, because that invites adventurism".

119. To ignore this appeal would have irreparable consequences for the future peace negotiations in Central America. Similarly, Nicaragua should abandon attempts to duplicate international efforts, in these parallel forums, by trying to involve the Security Council again, while in the Contadora Group we have a specific commission to deal with matters of security concerning the countries of the region. That commission enjoys the support of the international community, as has again been expressed here. If Nicaragua continues to maintain this attitude, it will vitiate the functioning of the Contadora Group as a negotiating forum. That body, instead of being replaced, should be strengthened.

120. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: The next speaker is the representative of the Lao People's Democratic Republic. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

121. Mr. KITTIKHOUN (Lao People's Democratic Republic) [*interpretation from French*]: My delegation is indeed gratified to see you, Sir, presiding over the meetings of the Council for this month. The wisdom and skill that are characteristic of you are an earnest of the success of these very important meetings of the Council. My delegation would like also to thank the representative of Peru for the very skilful and courteous way in which he directed the difficult and delicate work of the Council during the past month. Finally, we would venture to express our gratitude to all the members of the Council for having been kind enough to accommodate our request to participate in this debate, which essentially affects the peace and security of Central America and of the world as a whole.

122. As we are fully aware, this is the sixth time that Nicaragua has been constrained to request an emergency meeting of the Security Council to consider the rising tide of aggressive acts—political, economic and military—on the part of a major Power and permanent member of the Council against that country and its people. Last Friday [*2525th meeting*], we followed with alarm the very detailed and very moving statement made by the representative of Nicaragua in connection with the new phase in the aggression being practised by that great Power against Sandino's people. Indeed, in recent months, we have witnessed an unprecedented stepping up of American military presence in that highly sensitive part of the world. With the dispatch by the United States Government of thousands of soldiers to Honduras, the redeployment of naval vessels and aircraft carriers and the aerial espionage in that region, we have seen a disturbing display of military might.

123. In recent years, a number of the economic and military installations of the Republic of Nicaragua were the target of attacks on the part of the United States Government, which used airplanes, helicopters and attack boats to carry out a virtual air-sea battle. That war effort even went so far as to mine the main ports of Nicaragua. That serious act, which is contrary to international law, was condemned by the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, has already cost a number of innocent lives and is a serious impediment to the freedom of international navigation. Such behaviour surely reveals some of the underlying motives prompting the American Administration not to go along with the international community in adopting the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, that monumental document adopted by those peoples who vigorously defend freedom of international navigation.

124. In conjunction with these hostile activities in Nicaragua, the American Administration is financing, organizing and arming Somozist mercenary forces which, according to certain official pronouncements of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), will soon amount to 18,000 armed men, with the aim of overthrowing the legal Government of that country, a Member of the United Nations and of the Non-Aligned Movement.

125. This, then, is the bizarre way in which it deals with those peoples which have opted for a social and political system that does not appeal to the Americans.

126. To justify its interventionist policies the United States Government has, to its great shame, described Nicaragua, that revolutionary country of Sandino, as a destabilizing influence in the region. Without going into the well-known purpose of that dubious mudslinging, I shall take the liberty, after the manner of the representative of the Islamic Republic of Iran when he spoke

during the debate on the Libyan complaint against the same major Power [*2523rd meeting*], of composing two sentences and leaving it to the conscience of the Council to choose which is the more honest, realistic and acceptable.

> "Sentence one: [Nicaragua] is behind every international problem in Central America and the rest of Latin America. Sentence two: The United States is behind every international problem in Central America and the rest of Latin America."*

127. Undoubtedly, I could choose even more extravagant language, but none could compare with the fantastic, unfounded and totally unrealistic statements we heard at the very beginning of this debate from the United States delegation in its attempt to mislead world public opinion.

128. Furthermore, this incantation is not at all new. The world will recall that before its brutal aggression the American Government considered the small island of Grenada as being a threat to its own security.

129. The anti-Nicaragua propaganda unfortunately did not stop there; it even went so far as to maintain unscrupulously that the anti-Sandinist rebel forces were based within the territory of Nicaragua, in an attempt, as usual, though a vain attempt, to make the world believe that Nicaragua was in fact facing a purely domestic crisis.

130. I do not intend to take up too much of the Council's valuable time, but the Council may be interested to be informed of a manifesto signed by a number of Honduran personalities and political leaders, including the former President, Ramón Cruz, as reported by Agence France Presse on 24 March 1984. The signatories of the manifesto call for, *inter alia*, opposition to the American desire to establish a permanent base to continue to train non-Honduran soldiers, particularly the Nicaraguan opposition. The manifesto naturally has not been mentioned by the imperialists and the other detractors of Nicaragua.

131. The world knows full well that the problems of Central America are real and that they must be resolved urgently. For its part, Nicaragua has, in its wisdom, generally given a warm welcome to peace initiatives by third countries, particularly those belonging to the Contadora Group, aiming at a political solution to the problems of the region. In this connection, the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, in its communiqué published on 15 March [*S/16422, annex*], welcomed Nicaragua's firm attachment to peace, as shown by that country's most recent initiatives, and once again proclaimed its solidarity with the Government of National Reconstruction and the people of Nicaragua in their struggle to protect their sovereignty, territorial integrity and right to independence.

132. As for the United States Government, contrary to the policy of peace which it claims to have chosen, it is simply increasing its military presence in the area and intensely pursuing its air and sea attacks against Nicaragua.

133. My delegation learned with indignation of the news from Agence France Presse on 1 April that a former commander-in-chief of the Honduran army had sent the Kissinger Commission a document recommending military intervention in Nicaragua in order to resolve the conflict in Central America. This is the plot the imperialist forces and their hirelings intend to hatch in order to neutralize the valiant people of Nicaragua.

134. In the face of this serious situation, the peace efforts being made by the Contadora Group have been sorely tested, and the danger of armed confrontation in that troubled part of the world has become a reality. Consequently, it is incumbent on the international community, the United Nations, and in particular the Security Council, whose purpose is to safeguard international peace, to condemn the mining of the main Nicaraguan ports and to require that the United States Government end its belligerent policy in Central America and agree that a political solution should be found to the problems of the region.

135. In conclusion, we express our deep conviction that the people of Nicaragua, strengthened by their tradition of heroic struggle, under the Sandinist National Liberation Front, will be able to thwart all aggressive manoeuvres by the imperialists. Our people is fully behind the fraternal people of Nicaragua in its just struggle to protect its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, until final, complete victory.

136. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: The next speaker is the representative of Czechoslovakia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

137. Mr. KOVAČIČ (Czechoslovakia): Mr. President, let me first thank you and all the other members of the Security Council for granting me this opportunity to speak on behalf of the Czechoslovak delegation on the important issue on the Council's agenda today, an issue which is of profound concern to us. This issue is the continuing and ever-escalating acts of aggression, terror and provocation against Nicaragua. It is the escalation of unlawful, hostile acts organized and financed by, or even directly carried out by, the United States against an independent, non-aligned and freedom-loving Central American State. It is the escalation of the undeclared war by the United States against Nicaragua.

138. Mr. Javier Chamorro Mora, representative of Nicaragua, informed this body of the scope of the United States aggression against Nicaragua and the

* Quoted in English by the speaker.

means chosen by President Reagan's Administration to bend the Nicaraguan people to its diktat and to turn back the progressive socio-economic development of that country. He provided information on the unprecedented escalation of the United States military presence in the Central American region, with the practically perpetual holding of military exercises and the highly concentrated deployment of United States warships and spy planes, while advantage is being taken for that purpose of the territory and military capacity of some neighbouring States.

139. The representative of Nicaragua informed the Council about the escalation of terrorist actions against military and economic targets in Nicaragua, organized as a part of United States efforts to destabilize that country. He informed it of the recruitment of mercenaries from the ranks of the Somoza adherents and other counter-revolutionaries and criminals financed from the funds of the CIA and other agencies of the United States Administration. He also mentioned acts of air and naval piracy and terrorism inspired and even directly controlled by Washington. He presented facts and evidence on the leading role of the United States, and in particular the CIA, in the mining of Nicaragua's major Pacific and Atlantic ports—actions that are directed not only against the people and Government of Nicaragua but outright against international navigation, communications and international trade.

140. The alarming facts mentioned in the statement of the Nicaraguan representative attest beyond doubt that the United States Administration stands behind the acts of aggression and violence against Nicaragua and that it is responsible for all the immeasurable damage that is being caused to the Nicaraguan people in both human and material terms by the continuing and escalating aggression.

141. We are speaking here of acts that are unequivocally prohibited by the Charter, by the most significant documents of the Organization, including the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations[1] and the Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention and Interference in the Internal Affairs of States,[2] as well as the norms of international law.

142. We are speaking of acts that are in full contradiction of important resolutions of the Organization, including the unanimously adopted General Assembly resolution 38/10 and Security Council resolution 530 (1983). These are acts that have rightly been condemned by the historic meetings of the foreign ministers of non-aligned countries in Nicaragua and by the New Delhi summit of the Non-Aligned Movement, as well as by the subsequent sessions of the Co-ordinating Bureau of that Movement.

143. The United States aggression against Nicaragua is being criticized and resolutely condemned by broad circles of international public opinion as well as by a growing number of political personalities in the United States itself. The fact that the current United States Administration ignores the unlawful nature of the acts against Nicaragua and the voices of the resolute resistance causes serious damage to the Nicaraguan people, constitutes a grave threat to peace in the Central American region and sabotages the peace-making efforts of Nicaragua and other Latin American States, including the initiatives of the Contadora Group.

144. The aggression and terror against Nicaragua are not an isolated phenomenon in the foreign policy strategy of the United States. Washington is practising a policy of blackmail and diktat in other parts of the world also, and it arbitrarily proclaims spheres of so-called vital interest to the United States. It does not at all hesitate to use armed force to suppress revolutionary liberation movements and to impose its will on independent States, as has been demonstrated by the armed intervention against Grenada, by the pressure exerted against Cuba, Syria and Libya, by events in Lebanon, by the growing military presence of the United States in the Indian Ocean, the Persian Gulf and the Mediterranean and by the feverish arms buildup on land, at sea as well as in outer space, including the deployment of new United States first-strike weapons in the territories of three States in Western Europe. And it is this policy, these acts of intimidation, pressure and outright aggression by the reactionary forces of imperialism, headed by the United States, which have caused a marked deterioration in the overall international situation.

145. The Czechoslovak people and the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic feel profound indignation at the aggressive and terrorist actions against the friendly people of Nicaragua. They resolutely support the popular Sandinist revolution and the struggle of the Nicaraguan people to preserve their revolutionary achievements and to defend their independence and legitimate right to economic and social development of their nation. They are in full solidarity with the people of Nicaragua. They appreciate the initiatives of the Government of Nicaragua and the continued endeavours to achieve a peaceful and just settlement of the conflict situation in Central America and in the Caribbean region, including the efforts of the Contadora Group. They resolutely condemn the acts of destabilization, pressure and armed aggression against Nicaragua, and they demand an immediate halt to them. This was clearly expressed in the statement by our Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs of 30 March 1984.

146. Let me express the hope that the conclusions reached by the Security Council in the implementation of its noble mandate will be directed towards that objective.

147. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: The next speaker is the representative of Guatemala. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

148. Mr. FAJARDO-MALDONADO (Guatemala) [*interpretation from Spanish*]: First of all I should like on behalf of my delegation to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption to the presidency. We are sure that under your leadership the work of the Council will be successful. Similarly I wish to express my gratitude to the representative of Peru, Mr. Javier Arias Stella, for the able and effective way in which he conducted the delicate business of the Council during his term.

149. My delegation has followed with interest and concern this further debate on the delicate situation in Central America in this major body of the United Nations. We have listened to the statements and views of various delegations and we are concerned to see that, with the call for a meeting of the Security Council to discuss the Central American crisis, our region has been caught up in this interminable vortex, this classic East-West confrontation, so that the negotiations and peace efforts being carried out within the Contadora framework are being seriously jeopardized. Hence, as a member of the Central American family, Guatemala is directly affected by the regional crisis. Aware of the historic links that bind the countries of the region, and of the need to maintain and strengthen those links through the peaceful settlement of regional disputes, we consider it our highest responsibility to express our Government's point of view in this important United Nations forum in the hope that we can thus contribute to a peaceful political negotiated solution for Central America.

150. My country, as a founding Member of the United Nations, agreed to, observes and adheres to the principles on which it was established and which are today embodied in its constituent Charter. In particular, we wish to mention the maintenance of international peace and security, respect for the sovereign equality of States, the peaceful settlement of international disputes, rejection of the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, the right of peoples to self-determination, non-intervention or non-interference in the internal affairs of other States and the right to free navigation and trade in international waters, as set forth in Security Council resolution 540 (1983) on another situation. Similarly, Guatemala adheres to the 21 Contadora objectives endorsed in September of last year [*S/16041, annex*], including the rejection of terrorism and subversion as a basis for any comprehensive negotiated settlement in Central America.

151. Because of all those principles and owing to its deep commitment to Central Americanism, my country has remained outside the arms race problem and the problem of the exportation of armed groups and intends to continue with that policy so as to make a positive contribution in the search for a peaceful settlement to the situation which at present prevails in Central American countries. Hence we believe, indeed insist, that the Contadora Group is the regional body that we have chosen and which must be strengthened. My country is confident that it is in that context that we as Central Americans, in a constructive manner and acting in good faith, must seek solutions to our current problems and differences.

152. My country now wishes to make an appeal for reconciliation among Central Americans. Let us continue to work within the Contadora framework with resolution and patience to achieve peaceful coexistence and to settle our differences. Let us strengthen the peace initiative that we have been offered by our fraternal countries in Latin America, members of the Contadora Group, and let us not allow hegemonistic and extracontinental conflicts which are foreign to our interests and which in no way contribute to our development to sweep us up in the ongoing confrontation they sustain.

153. Finally, my Government wishes to reaffirm its support for the Contadora Group. We completely support General Assembly resolution 38/10 and hope that the Security Council will further the peace efforts being made in this forum. The problems are those of Central America and Latin America; they are comprehensive and must be negotiated. It is for us to resolve them. The United Nations must help to create the conditions conducive to lasting peace in the region.

154. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: The next speaker is the representative of Afghanistan. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

155. Mr. ZARIF (Afghanistan): Earlier this week I had an opportunity most warmly to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the high office of President of the Security Council. However, I should like now to express our admiration and thanks for the brilliant manner in which you have so far conducted the Council's work.

156. The already tense situation in Central America has taken an ominous turn for the worse. The main cause behind this dangerous change is, as always, the stepped-up United States imperialist intervention in the internal affairs of the countries of the region.

157. United States intervention in Nicaragua is being carried out practically on all fronts. The armed intervention which once had the form of isolated provocations and occasional subversive actions against Nicaraguan border villages by the former Somozist National Guard bandits has now been developed into a large-scale undeclared war launched by a mercenary legion of the CIA which is highly organized, well trained and fully equipped with sophisticated light and heavy weaponry. The CIA mercenaries have invaded Nicaragua from the north, the south, the Atlantic coast and the Pacific coast. They have chosen as their targets defenceless villages, agricultural plantations, public service institutions such as schools and hospitals, and economic installations. They forcibly displace the vil-

lagers, destroy their houses and burn their crops. To carry out those acts of aggression they make continuous use of high-powered speed-boats, helicopters and small planes.

158. Economic pressures that started with the cessation of all United States economic assistance to Nicaragua by the Reagan Administration have now been elevated to the level of an all-out economic blockade.

159. Coupled with all those is the psychological and propaganda warfare waged at all levels to discredit the revolutionary gains of the Nicaraguan people.

160. The modest hope for stabilization and tranquillity in the region which was created with the endeavours and proposals of the Contadora Group faded away because of the negative attitude adopted by the United States Administration and the pressures it has exerted on its regional lackeys.

161. The situation recently acquired a new and very explosive dimension as a result of the mining of Nicaraguan territorial waters around the important seaports of Corinto and Sandino. These mines which have been laid in a 50-kilometer belt across Lake Nicaragua, from Sapoa River to the town of Colón, have already destroyed or damaged 10 cargo ships and fishing boats. Among those damaged were Panamanian, Soviet, Liberian, Japanese and Dutch-registered vessels. The mining of Nicaraguan territorial waters by CIA mercenaries constitutes not only an act of intervention and aggression against that country but also poses a grave danger to international navigation. The international community should vehemently condemn this brazen act of aggression against Nicaragua by the United States.

162. The Peace, Friendship and Solidarity Organization of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has issued a statement on the recent escalation of the United States dirty undeclared war against Nicaragua in which the United States Administration is strongly condemned for its acts of aggression. The statement has reiterated full support to and complete solidarity with the fraternal people of Nicaragua in their struggle to defend their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and the proud achievements of their revolution.

163. The people and Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan fully associate themselves with the legitimate concern of the people and Government of Nicaragua, which was eloquently echoed in this Council by Mr. Chamorro Mora, the representative of Nicaragua.

164. We demand the cessation of all imperialist interference and intervention in the internal affairs of Nicaragua and other countries of the region. The Security Council should take appropriate measures to put an end to the acts of aggression by the United States against Nicaragua. Every effort must be made to revive the process of diplomatic contacts initiated by the Contadora Group with a view to finding a lasting peaceful solution to the problems of the region.

165. May I, in conclusion, Mr. President, thank you and, through you, the other members of the Council, for extending to my delegation the privilege of participating in the debate of the Council on the item before it.

166. Sir John THOMSON (United Kingdom): Although you, Mr. President, like myself and one or two of our neighbours, suffer under the disability of representing a delegation that does not begin with "P" but with "U," you have already set us an excellent example by asking us to be brief in our congratulations. I therefore congratulate your heartily on what you have already done and on what I am sure you will do, and, similarly, I repeat what I said a few days ago about the skill of our Peruvian colleague in leading the Council last month.

167. I must apologize, not only to my colleagues on the Council for making a speech at this hour of the night, but also to the interpreters and the translators for making what is more or less an impromptu speech. The speech that I had prepared to give either this evening or tomorrow—I was not sure which—is no longer wholly relevant, and this puts me—and I apologize for it—in some difficulty. The reason for the difficulty is the very recent amendments put forward to the draft resolution that was submitted, I believe, last night. These amendments are, I repeat, the reason for my making an *ex tempore* speech.

168. The amendments are quite simple; there are two of them, one to the last preambular paragraph and the other to paragraph 1, and my delegation finds that in part they are good and in part they are bad—or at any rate awkward.

169. I do not find difficulty with the amended paragraphs as they now stand in the text before us. I wish to make it quite clear that the United Kingdom deplores the mining of Nicaraguan waters. Responsibility for the laying of mines has been claimed by two organizations which have declared themselves in opposition to the Government of Nicaragua. The mining operations have already caused damage to merchant ships of several nationalities and injuries to merchant seamen. Our position is well known and consistent: as a maritime nation, we are committed to freedom of navigation, including innocent passage through the territorial sea and access to foreign ports for peaceful trade. We deplore any threats to navigation, whenever and wherever they occur. I reaffirm our adherence to that principle.

170. Having said that—and I repeat that that is a very clear, unequivocal and firm position on the part of my Government—we in the United Kingdom nevertheless feel that the draft resolution as it now stands lacks balance.

171. I may have been under a misapprehension in the last few days, but I think I am entitled at this point to ask what this debate is about. Our agenda, which we have adopted at the beginning of each of these meetings, refers to the letter from our colleague from Nicaragua, and that letter [*S/16449*] says as follows:

> "On specific instructions from my Government, I have the honour to request a meeting of the Security Council as a matter of urgency and immediacy, in order to consider the escalation of acts of aggression currently being perpetrated against my country."

There was no specific reference to which acts of aggression, no specific reference, for example, to mining, in our agenda. But I think no one doubted that mining was one of the matters which the Nicaraguan delegation was complaining about when it put forward this letter which we as a Council adopted as our agenda.

172. However, I think it is also fair for others of us, including my delegation, to have assumed that this wording which I have just read out—"acts of aggression currently being perpetrated against my country"—referred to the other recent Nicaraguan letters. For example, there were other letters: on 26 March, 27 March, 29 March and 2 April. If my colleagues will excuse me, I would just like to quote briefly a few passages here and there from these Nicaraguan letters to illustrate why I had the impression that our debate was about something wider than the mining question.

173. For example, the first of these letters [*S/16439*], of 26 March, says in part:

> "I am writing to inform you of the following:
>
> "Yesterday, 25 March 1984, at 3.30 a.m., a group of Honduran military personnel, of undetermined number, carried out an attack from Honduran territory upon the units of the Sandinist People's Army situated 5 kilometres south-west of Somotillo, firing 40 rounds from 81-mm mortars. Fortunately, no casualties resulted from this criminal attack, which lasted between 20 and 30 minutes."

174. The next letter [*S/16440*], of 27 March, enclosed a communiqué by the Governing Junta of National Reconstruction dated 26 March, which covered a large number of points. It is a two-page document, so I will not attempt to quote it all, but, amongst other things, it said: "This situation, which brings even closer the possibility of United States military intervention against El Salvador and Nicaragua, has frustrated the efforts for peace". It goes on in another passage to ask the United States Government:

> "1. To stop escalating the stationing of troops in Central America and to withdraw the contingents sent in in the last few weeks to join those already stationed there, together with the espionage aircraft, aircraft-carriers and warships recently dispatched to the region;
>
> "2. To halt all military manoeuvres or exercises in the region;
>
> "3. To end the escalation of the clandestine war against Nicaragua which takes the form of air and sea attacks and the mining of harbours;
>
> "4. To withdraw its request for the allocation of $21 million, which is at present under consideration in the United States Congress."

175. Then when we come to the letter of 29 March [*S/16448*] we find a sentence in the annexed communiqué which rather worried my delegation. It says:

> "The Government of Nicaragua confirms once again its readiness to continue to struggle for peace in the Central American region and reiterates its appeal to the international community to provide Nicaragua with the necessary technical and military means to defend itself from the State terrorism unleashed by the United States Government."

176. Then we come to the letter of 2 April [*S/16457*], which states:

> "I have the honour to inform you of the following:
>
> "Yesterday, 29 March 1984, at 2.05 a.m., an unspecified number of personnel of the Honduran army attacked, from Honduras, the Catarina sector, 3 kilometers south-west of La Ceiba and 5 kilometers west of Somotillo, with rounds of small-arms and 81-mm mortar fire. Fortunately, no casualties resulted from this criminal act of aggression."

177. I think that what I have briefly quoted from these letters does entitle my delegation to think that this debate was on a wider matter than the mining question, serious though the mining question is, and I was further persuaded that this was the subject of the debate by the opening speech made by the representative of Nicaragua. That speech ranged over material which, unfortunately, is all too familiar to the Council because we have debated the matter on several previous occasions. But amongst other things, there were, by my count, nine pages of complaints before we reached the question of mining.

178. So, once again, I should just like to affirm that my delegation thought that this debate was about the problems of Central America. We thought that it was about the problems of Central America as put forward by Nicaragua, but that other Central American countries, other countries closely involved, and other members of the Council would have something to say in contribution, and indeed they did; we have heard a number of speeches in this debate.

179. And what have they been about? All these speeches seem to me to have ranged over a very wide area of international affairs. I even heard one speaker

this evening referring to the stationing of missiles in Europe. But we have certainly covered a great deal about United States relationships with Central America, about internal Central American relationships, about the relationship of Central America to the four Contadora Group countries. We have talked about the importance of various principles: Article 2 of the Charter, for example, which forbids intervention in the internal affairs of other countries and calls for the peaceful settlement of disputes. We have talked about the application of democratic principles to Central America. We have talked about social and economic development in Central America.

180. So I feel that it is not only the agenda we adopted, but the speeches we have heard, which led us to think that we are dealing here with the whole problem of Central America. For example, in the very opening speech, we heard the following from our colleague from Nicaragua:

> "On the other hand, we are absolutely certain that our region is now in a particularly critical and difficult period and that at any time this could lead to a conflict with serious consequences." [*See 2525th meeting, para. 26.*]

As a matter of fact, my delegation thinks that that is a fairly accurate statement of the position. That, it seems to us, is what this debate is really about.

181. The speech by the representative of Nicaragua was followed by a speech by the representative of the United States which dealt with a large number of matters which really do not seem to be very adequately reflected—if they are at all—in the draft resolution before us. Then, if we turn to the other parties involved in this dispute, we have just heard this evening a powerful speech by the representative of Honduras, which contained information that my delegation is not able to verify or deny, such information as a large number of Cuban troops going to Nicaragua, and so forth. We also heard a speech from the delegation of El Salvador, which was pretty critical of one of its fellow Central American countries. This evening we heard a speech from the representative of Costa Rica, who was pointing out to us the importance of not undermining the Contadora process and suggesting that perhaps it was being undermined by the way in which we were conducting this debate. Finally, we have just heard a powerful speech from the representative of Guatemala.

182. It seems to me, listening to all these speeches, that this body is falling into the habit—which I am afraid is becoming ingrained—of producing results that do not have much relevance to the debate. One begins to wonder whether it is worth our while having debates at all, if we have long debates and then end up with something that is not congruent with them.

183. I repeat that our present draft resolution does not, it seems to my delegation, match the scope of the debate or, indeed, of the Central American problem. In the opinion of my delegation, the draft resolution before us would have been improved if the final preambular paragraph and paragraph 1 as originally circulated in the provisional version had been amended.

184. Now members will see why I began by saying that the changes reflected in the version of the draft resolution just circulated have put me in some difficulty: although as amended they are acceptable to my delegation, the original wording of the provisional text would, we thought, have been improved if to the final preambular paragraph—

> "Noting also with deep concern the mining of Nicaraguan ports and other attacks, as well as overt and covert hostile acts and threats against Nicaragua,"—

had been added "and other States in Central America".

185. Similarly, in paragraph 1 of the provisional version, where we called for "an immediate end to all threats, attacks and overt and covert hostile acts against the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Nicaragua", we should have preferred to say not just Nicaragua, but "the States of Central America". And, indeed, it seemed to us that there was indeed much purpose in calling for an immediate end to all threats, attacks and overt and covert hostile acts against the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of all States of Central America. I cannot very easily believe that any delegation represented around this table would have opposed that; surely this is a point on which we are all agreed, and my delegation would have liked to have said so.

186. In short, it seems to us that it is wrong to deal only with the mining question, though it is perfectly right that we should deal with the mining question. It is wrong, we feel, to deal with the interests of only one of the countries involved in the situation in Central America.

187. Sir, I recall the declaration your predecessor made on behalf of all of us only last week [*2524th meeting*] on another very serious matter, namely, the use—verified by the Secretary-General's group of experts—of chemical weapons. But when we discussed this matter, and when we agreed on the declaration that was issued by your predecessor, we put that in the context of the whole situation which was occurring there. I should have liked to do the same sort of thing on this occasion.

188. Always with the same object in view, we also find other problems with this draft resolution. We should have liked to see more balance. The draft resolution refers to Security Council resolution 530 (1983) and to General Assembly resolution 38/10; but it refers to them selectively. Hence it seems to us that it lacks balance, and we believe that the draft resolution could be improved in a way that would command general

consent at this table. For example, we believe it would have been improved had it reflected Assembly resolution 38/10 more accurately and fully—for example, by the addition of the following paragraphs, which I shall quote verbatim. The sixth preambular paragraph would read as follows:

> "Mindful of the necessity of promoting the achievement of peace on a sound basis, which would make possible a genuine democratic process, respect for human rights, and economic and social development,"

and paragraph 5 would read:

> "Notes with satisfaction that the countries of the region have agreed to take measures leading to the establishment and, where appropriate, the improvement of democratic, representative and pluralistic systems which will guarantee effective popular participation in decision-making and ensure the free access of various currents of opinion to honest and periodic electoral processes based on the full observance of civil rights, emphasizing that the strengthening of democratic institutions is closely linked to evolution and advances achieved in the sphere of economic development and social justice;".

189. Furthermore, we believe that we might not only have reflected more accurately the resolutions cited in this draft resolution but also some of the wise words uttered only recently, on 28 March, by the President of Mexico, Mr. Miguel de la Madrid, which were quoted in the statement of the representative of Mexico, as follows:

> " 'It is possible for countries bordering on the area of conflict and generally interested in the solution of problems that might eventually involve them to play an active and important role in restoring dialogue and negotiation, thus relieving tension and restoring peace. It is equally important that the countries involved, directly or indirectly, in a regional conflict should refrain from taking action that could exacerbate that conflict, should renounce hegemonistic aspirations and should not engage in interference or destabilization actions.
>
> " ' . . .
>
> " 'Latin America needs a stable and pluralistic Central America which can fit into the patterns of cooperation and enrich the joint endeavours of the region.' "

Hear, hear!

> " 'The path to achieving that is clearly one of dialogue and negotiation, based on respect for national identities and forms of expression, and it is certainly not the path of confrontation and conflict, of destabilizing actions or the imposition of models designed elsewhere by those who think that they know better than the Central Americans themselves what Central Americans want and should have.' "
> [*See 2527th meeting, para. 76.*]

Well, that is the authentic voice of the only member of the Contadora Group who has spoken in this debate, as far as I am aware, and I think we might have tried to reflect that statement in the draft resolution.

190. I know that we all support the two resolutions that are cited—Security Council resolution 530 (1983) and General Assembly resolution 38/10—and we are very glib in citing previous resolutions; it is something we are all trying to do all the time. But I think we should pay special attention to the circumstances in which Assembly resolution 38/10 was negotiated. All of us must remember sitting around for a whole morning and all through lunch-time twiddling our thumbs while the delegations most closely concerned negotiated its text, and there was a great deal of dissatisfaction as all our stomachs got emptier. But when they came up with an agreed text, which was then accepted by acclamation, we all thought it had been worth while and we all applauded them. And I do not like the feeling that this resolution, which was achieved not only by consensus of the countries most closely concerned but also by consensus of the entire General Assembly, should, in a sense, be undercut by our selective quotation and by not being fully and fairly reflected.

191. I come to what is really my main essential positive point. In listening to this debate, in reading the statements when I was unable to be present here, I have got the strong impression that there is one thing that is common to virtually all the speeches: that is, support for the Contadora process and support for the 21 points of the Document of Objectives [*S/16041, annex*]. These are very important matters which, as I said, seem to be of general acceptance not only to the members of the Council but also to members of the General Assembly who were invited to speak here and who have stressed, for example, free elections, pluralism, democratic processes, human rights and economic and social development. Surely, all these things are part of the whole problem of Central America, and they should be reflected in this draft resolution. And let us remember that we are dealing not just with a problem—because that sounds a bit abstract—but with a problem about people, people who have suffered a great deal and for a long time. In my personal estimation, despite some of the statements in this debate, we are not really dealing with a great East-West dispute here—which we quite often do get into. We are really dealing with a much more local situation which the people of Central America unfortunately find themselves in but which, we believe, they can cope with. And here I refer again to the concluding words of the statement of the President of Mexico I quoted earlier to the effect that Central Americans can find Central American solutions.

192. We found a great deal in the analysis the representative of the United States quoted at the beginning of

the debate [*2525th meeting*]—the Kissinger Report. We found that very persuasive. One does not have to agree with every word of it, but there is a lot in that report with which I have not heard any delegation seriously disagree.

193. So we had hoped that the Council at the end of this debate would produce a resolution, a presidential statement, or whatever, that would be really constructive and not in any way vindictive. We had also hoped for all these elements I have mentioned to be reflected in the present draft resolution so that we would have a truly balanced statement making it easier for the four countries of the Contadora Group to exercise their very valuable function in bringing the five Central American countries into agreement.

194. We find that missing from the draft resolution as it now stands. Therefore, I must say that my delegation, in disappointment, will abstain when the draft is put to the vote.

195. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: I should now like to speak in my capacity as representative of the UKRAINIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC.

196. The Security Council is considering a matter which affects a vital aspect of the life of any State or people: the right to an independent and sovereign existence in conditions of peace and security without any foreign interference in its internal affairs. That right is enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and in other fundamental international legal documents. Any direct or indirect violation of that right necessarily leads to lawlessness in international relations.

197. The statements made by most delegations have proved cogently that the Security Council is dealing with precisely the kind of wilfulness where generally acknowledged norms and principles of international law are being ignored and flouted. Simply because the present Government of Nicaragua is not to the liking of the United States—as has frequently been stated by the latter's representatives in the Security Council—the United States has set itself the goal of overthrowing that Government.

198. An attempt has been made to prove to us that the Government of this Central American country allegedly represents some kind of threat to the United States, something that country cannot tolerate. May I recall that the same kind of putative threat was mentioned by the United States in the case of Grenada, against which it directed its regular military units.

199. There is every reason to assume that the United States is planning precisely the same kind of operation in the case of Nicaragua. However, for the time being it prefers to do this through third parties, using hostile elements from among the followers of Somoza and other disaffected elements. The training and military supplying of these forces has been carried out by the United States at a cost of tens of millions of dollars, and the size of this "American assistance", as it is openly referred to by the President of the United States and his Secretary of Defence, will grow. As far as the representatives of the United States at the United Nations are concerned, they have openly tried to provide a veneer of diplomatic respectability for their intervention in Nicaragua's internal affairs.

200. An undeclared war is being waged against that country and its people, and every day it is assuming increasingly threatening and serious dimensions, gravely menacing peace and security in Central America and in the world as a whole. The large contingents of naval and air-force landing units that have been sent one after the other towards the coasts of Nicaragua are meant to serve a policy of intimidation. The manoeuvres that have become a permanent feature of this region are intended to create a military infrastructure with the building of airports, bases, munitions dumps and so on. No sooner had the Big Pine II manoeuvres, which had lasted for six months near the frontiers of Nicaragua and which had involved the landing of United States and Honduran soldiers, come to an end than they were succeeded by the Granadero I and Ocean Venture 84 manoeuvres. According to information from the Pentagon, these will involve the participation of 33,000 United States troops. How can we fail to recall that it was precisely the Ocean Venture 81 manoeuvres that were used as a dress rehearsal for the eventual invasion of Grenada.

201. A new and extremely menacing development has been the United States attempt to set up a marine blockade around Nicaragua. The approaches to its ports have been strewn with various kinds of mines, which merchant ships from Panama, the Netherlands, the Soviet Union, Liberia, Japan and commercial and fishing vessels from Nicaragua have foundered on. This is a gross transgression of the traditional usages of international navigation and trade. These actions cannot be termed anything but an act of piracy and international terrorism.

202. Surely the representatives of the United States do not seriously believe that the international community is so naive as to believe their assertions that all these mines are simply hand-made and have been placed there by some casual bystanders. Incontrovertible data has been cited here demonstrating that the most sophisticated kinds of technical methods were used in mining the ports. The nature and size of the attacks on merchant ships en route to Nicaragua have quite clearly indicated that they have been carried out at United States expense and with the direct participation of organizations and persons controlled by the United States Government, which is directly responsible for these criminal acts.

203. In the opinion of the delegation of the Ukrainian SSR, the Security Council should firmly condemn acts

of aggression against the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Nicaragua and reaffirm the right of the Nicaraguan people to determine its own future, free from foreign interference. Particularly reprehensible is the mining of the ports and territorial waters of Nicaragua, since it represents a further stage in the terrorism that seriously threatens the freedom of navigation and trade and is a gross violation of the generally recognized norms of international law. The Security Council should require the United States immediately to cease all hostile actions against Nicaragua. Maximum use should be made of the efforts the States of the Contadora Group, which are aimed at securing a peaceful settlement of the conflict in Central America.

204. The Ukrainian SSR is firmly against United States intervention in the internal affairs of Nicaragua and affirms its complete solidarity with the heroic Nicaraguan people.

205. I shall now resume my functions as PRESIDENT of the Council.

206. Mr. CHAMORRO MORA (Nicaragua) [*interpretation from Spanish*]: I wish to make it clear to the members of the Council that I had requested to speak before I heard the statement of the representative of the United Kingdom, since I considered it important to provide additional information, as I have been doing throughout the debate. But having heard his statement, I believe it important to make a few brief references to what he said, which, in our opinion, was almost an explanation of vote.

207. First, the representative of the United Kingdom mentioned our letter in which we requested the convening of these meetings of the Council [*S/16449*]. I should like to read it out to him and I request him to listen carefully and he will understand that our request was "in order to consider the escalation of acts of aggression currently being perpetrated against my country".

208. We have been clear from the time we called for a meeting that it was to discuss the acts of aggression against Nicaragua, that there had been various such acts, and among them the mining of the ports has now assumed extraordinary significance because of its scope and its origin.

209. I wish also to say that we are aware that Central American problems are multiple and complex. We are aware that the way in which we must deal with them and the solution we must find for them also has to be multiple and complex in nature. Hence, we therefore have to explore every possible form and make every possible peace effort, precisely in order to arrive at a comprehensive settlement of the problems affecting Central America. In this respect Nicaragua has never objected to the problems of Central America being discussed in the Security Council, which is the most appropriate body for discussing problems affecting international peace and security. We do not object to this. Further, we would urge the representative of the United Kingdom to suggest to the United States or any country in Central America—if he deems it appropriate—that it come here and complain of any situation confronting it, even if it is a situation caused by my country's actions; let it complain of that too. We agree with that completely. We would be the first member of the Council to support such a request, if the United States or any other member of the Council should decide at any time that there was a need to discuss here in the Security Council any other specific issue of Central America. However, what we are discussing today are the acts of aggression being committed against Nicaragua.

210. The representative of the United Kingdom also made reference to the communiqué of Nicaragua's Governing Junta of National Reconstruction distributed to Council members and mentioned some of its paragraphs, among them, those referring to the appeal for military co-operation which my country publicly made in order to defend itself against the undeclared war and the military and trade blockade it is now facing. I wish to say to him and to the rest of the international community that this appeal has just been repeated in another communiqué we are sending to the Security Council.

211. We sincerely hope that among those countries responding to this appeal will be the United Kingdom. Perhaps it could send us some minesweepers to clean up our coasts. We would be very grateful to the United Kingdom if it could help us in this endeavour, knowing the facilities his country enjoys and that during the Second World War the United Kingdom was one of those countries receiving military co-operation from others in order to defend itself against Nazi aggression. I seem to remember also that the United States leased the United Kingdom aircraft at a nominal sum of a dollar or so in order that it could defend itself against bombings from which, unfortunately, his country was suffering at the time.

212. We hope that, once we come to vote on the draft resolution we have presented to the Council for its consideration—which to our mind precisely reflects the actions of which Nicaragua has complained and is suffering at present—the United Kingdom will be one of the countries that will be in a position to vote in favour, taking into account the fact that, among other things, it condemns the mining of the ports and refers to the need to respect the right to free trade and navigation which should prevail in every region of the world. Furthermore, there have been other resolutions adopted in the Security Council along the same lines—I seem to recall resolution 540 (1983)—on which the United Kingdom was able to vote in favour.

213. I also wish to refer to some statements—as I have already done on a previous occasion—of American and

other politicians, to the effect that the aggression is having an impact on the problems of Central America. These problems are complex, wide-ranging and needful of resolution. I think that it is not just the acts of aggression committed against Nicaragua that have to be resolved; that is but one aspect, albeit the most important one under discussion at the moment. But there are other aspects that in the long run will have to be resolved, either through the Security Council, the General Assembly or the Contadora Group, whose efforts, we hope, will be successful.

214. In this connection I shall mention certain statements made by the Secretary-General during his visit to Panama a few days ago, because during the debate some few seemed to wish to place the Central American problem within the context of the East-West crisis. To our mind, this is not in keeping with the reality prevailing in our region, nor is it at the root of the problems besetting us. The fact is that because of these problems there are civil wars being waged in some Latin American countries, for example, in El Salvador.

215. The Secretary-General said that the Central American crisis was very complex and that, to his regret, there were elements that were hampering the peace efforts of the Contadora Group. He also said that the Contadora Group's approach to the regional problems was correct because what was fundamental to the crisis in that region were its economic and social aspects. At the same time, he mentioned that all acts of interference in the internal affairs of Central American countries were deplorable.

216. Recently, President de la Madrid, in expressing some views on the Central American issues, mentioned, among other things, that the problem of Central America must be resolved by Central Americans themselves free from foreign interference from whatever source.

217. As we are all aware, in the past two weeks there have been long debates in the United States Senate about military assistance to Central America, including those which I mentioned in my two earlier interventions. I shall quote a few statements which, according to the press, have been made in the Senate in the past few days.

218. Senator Sasser, in an attempt to explain why Congress is reluctant to take drastic measures to halt the incessant call for funds by the Reagan Administration to carry on the war in Central America, said:

> "There is a reluctance around here to be too assertive on Central America. People fear Congress will be blamed by the Administration for losing Central America if things go awry there."

219. *The New York Times* on 3 April also told us about some aspects of the debate originated in the Senate by Senator Kennedy's introduction of some amendments. I shall quote Senator Inouye, who said:

> "I find myself sadly supporting funds for military assistance. If I ever felt that the $21 million were the amount which would prevail here, I would be on your side."

Recalling the Administration's original request, which was for $92 million, Senator Inouye added, "You can kill less people with $62 million than with $92 million."

220. According to *The New York Times* Colonel James D. Strachan said, "There is increasing understanding in the region that the Nicaraguan threat is regional, calling for regional co-operation and a regional solution." I ask members of the Council whether that is not a real threat to my country from a colonel in the United States Army.

221. I wish next to refer to a short article that appeared in *The Christian Science Monitor* today, precisely about the request for this convening of the Security Council by Nicaragua. It said at the end:

> "The resolution will have no trouble getting at least nine votes on the 15-member Security Council. It is not clear whether the United States will veto or support the resolution."—We, of course, would like the United States to support it.—"A veto might indicate the US harbors aggressive intentions toward Nicaragua, one Western diplomat says."

222. I shall now refer briefly to other statements made during the debate on Nicaragua's complaint about the acts of aggression against our country.

223. A few representatives said that the convening of these meetings, their results and other aspects tended to hamper and jeopardize the Contadora process. I should like to ask the international community whether a peace process can be hampered, paralysed or obstructed by a request from a country which is suffering aggression to a body responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security.

224. I should also like to ask whether it was not precisely the efforts of Nicaragua, both in the Security Council and in the General Assembly—despite the fact that the same arguments were advanced and the same accusations were made, that we were trying to impede the Contadora process—that led to Security Council resolution 530 (1983) and General Assembly resolution 38/10.

225. Lastly, I should like to ask whether, on the contrary, the negotiating process, whether that of the Contadora Group or of any other group, is not being hampered by the carrying out of military manoeuvres, by the establishment of military bases and by the opposition by certain countries of the region to an immediate moratorium on the shipment of arms to the region.

Incidentally, my country was the only one to agree to such a freeze when the Contadora Group suggested it. I wonder whether the Contadora peace process is being hampered by the justified alarm of Nicaragua, which comes here to complain of the aggression and the military and commercial blockade that it is suffering at the hands of a great Power, or, on the contrary, by that great Power, the United States, and its continuing military presence in Central America with its warships, its manoeuvres and its troops on the territory of Honduras, and by its mining of our ports, thus blockading us.

226. Even the least sophisticated should be able to understand that it is the perpetrator of acts of aggression and military actions who is really against a negotiated political solution.

227. Finally, I recall that in my two previous statements I put two specific questions to the United States delegation. Those questions appear in the official records of the Council, but so far they have not been answered. I should like an answer, if the United States delegation is in a position to answer me. I should also like to know when the United States will hear the universal cry and halt its acts of aggression and the dirty, undeclared war that it is waging against my country.

228. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: Members of the Council have received the text of a draft resolution presented by Nicaragua, contained in document S/16463. If there is no objection, I shall now put the draft resolution to the vote.

229. I shall first call on those representatives who wish to speak in explanation of vote before the vote.

230. Mr. van der STOEL (Netherlands): Before we proceed to the vote I should like to point out that my delegation continues to have reservations concerning the draft resolution as it stands. Indeed, we listened with great sympathy to the suggestions for improvement of the text made just now by the representative of the United Kingdom.

231. In this connection I should also like to make particular reference to the fourth preambular paragraph because it singles out one admittedly important, but nevertheless just one, element of General Assembly resolution 38/10. As I had occasion to indicate earlier in our debate, we feel that all—I repeat, all—the aims of the Document of Objectives must form the basis for a peaceful settlement of the problems besetting the region. I need not emphasize that my Government attaches particular importance to the establishment and improvement of democratic, representative and pluralistic systems of Government which will guarantee effective popular participation in decision-making and ensure free access for the various currents of opinion to honest and periodic expressions of the will of the people based on full observance of civil and political rights.

232. Having said that, I may remind the Council of the long-standing and firm commitment of my country to the principle of free navigation. This commitment and the importance we attach to it has made us decide to vote in favour of the draft resolution before us notwithstanding the reservations I have just expressed.

233. Mr. KHALIL (Egypt) [*interpretation from Arabic*]: The fact of the matter is that the Egyptian delegation would have preferred some time to be made available for us to consult on the draft resolution that is now to be put to the vote. We had hoped that a text could be arrived at that would be generally accepted by the Council and would better reflect resolution 530 (1983) and General Assembly resolution 38/10, which was adopted unanimously. Unfortunately we have not had that opportunity.

234. In its statement yesterday [*2528th meeting*] my delegation was at pains to point out that the States of Central America are facing social, economic and political challenges that cannot be overcome except by the creation of a regional atmosphere in the area that would break the circle of violence and counter-violence and be based on the rejection of the use or threat of force and the rejection of confrontation and intervention in the internal affairs of other States, which would have accorded with the principles of good-neighbourliness and respect for the sovereignty of the region's States, their independence and territorial integrity.

235. In the circumstances we wish to stress that it is our understanding that the last two preambular paragraphs are closely linked. On that basis we shall vote in favour of the draft resolution.

236. As a matter of fact the Egyptian delegation would have preferred the language of some of the other paragraphs to be more balanced than they are, in which case they might have contributed to the result of the Council's discussion of the issues by lessening tension and breaking the circle of violence in Central America. In our opinion that is the one aim that should be put before all others.

237. We say this despite all the difficulties that are still facing the Contadora Group. We sincerely hope that their constructive efforts will continue and will be revived.

238. Mr. SORZANO (United States of America): I desire to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency and to express our confidence that you will conduct the affairs of the Council with fairness and efficiency. I also desire to express the satisfaction of my Government with the skill with which your predecessor, the representative of Peru, Mr. Javier Arias Stella, conducted the affairs of the Council during the month of March.

239. The draft resolution before us is seriously flawed. Above all it lacks balance and fairness. It is not well suited to the purposes it ostensibly seeks to serve, notably the peace of the area. In an area rent by vio-

lence, it expresses concern about only one kind of violence and against only one target.

240. The United States would have no problem with this draft resolution if it were concerned with all the violence in the region, if its object were respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all the countries of the region and not just Nicaragua. But this draft resolution expresses no concern for the many attacks on El Salvador or on El Salvador's electoral process or for the continued violation of that country's sovereignty and territorial integrity by Nicaragua's continuing shipment of arms to the Salvadorian guerrillas. It expresses no concern for the repeated violations of the borders of Honduras or Costa Rica. Surely the international community also has an interest in these.

241. This draft resolution therefore is seriously unbalanced. The rush to decision by the Council is itself an example of seriously unbalanced concern.

242. The Council had before it last week an attack on the Sudan by Libya. The evidence was clear, as many members of the Council understood. But the Council took no action. The Council has had before it two attacks by Libya on Chad. But the Council has taken no action. The Council has had before it the appalling tragedy of the Iran-Iraq war, with children sent into battle unarmed and with chemical weapons used in violation of international agreements. But the Council has not been able to act decisively.

243. Today, however, the Council is able to act—not in opposition to crimes against human beings but out of concern for actions against property; not out of concern for human beings denied freedom or self-determination or out of concern for peace in Central America, but in response to the demands of a country which violates its promises to its own people, violates its promises to the Organization of American States, violates its neighbours' borders, attempts to destroy the march towards democracy in the region and ignores every principle of good-neighbourliness.

244. Apparently the only crime against the peace that the Security Council is concerned with is mining. Not bombing, as in Sudan; not shelling, as in Costa Rica; not in child sacrifice or gassing, as in the Iran-Iraq war; not infiltrating and subverting, as in El Salvador; not invading, as in Chad; not occupying, pillaging or burning, as in Afghanistan; not yellow rain, as against defenceless South-East Asian populations. Only mining. How extraordinary that the prohibitions of the Charter should have been reduced to one simple negative.

245. The actions taken here today do not advance the cause of peace. They do not address the problems of the region. They do not address, much less protect, the principles of the Charter.

246. Instead, Nicaragua comes to the Council seeking not peace but seeking the right of repression at home and aggression abroad with impunity.

247. The United States will not acquiesce in such a resolution. In voting against this draft resolution we reaffirm our commitment to peace in Central America, to regional negotiations leading to regional settlements, to the demilitarization of the region, to mutual respect for sovereignty and secure borders, the withdrawal of all foreign military personnel, respect for the rule of law and the establishment of democratic institutions based on free and periodic elections.

248. We hope that the members of the Council voting for this draft resolution will note, as they recommend the Contadora process, that Nicaragua declined yesterday to attend the meeting of the Contadora Working Commissions, so busy were they trying to subvert that very process. Today, with this draft resolution, it further damages the single best hope for peaceful settlement of the region's problems.

249. Naturally, the United States will vote no.

250. Mr. GAUCI (Malta): We would have preferred just a little more time for consultations on the text now being put to the vote so as to have made a final effort to achieve consensus by broadening the terms of the draft resolution. We realize, however, that the matter is urgent and that perfection is not easily achieved under pressure.

251. We believe that the text, as now amended, is positive enough to deserve our support, and we shall vote accordingly. In doing so we take comfort from the fact that all who have explained their vote have peace in Central America and the role of the Contadora Group as the major considerations.

252. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution in document S/16463.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: China, Egypt, France, India, Malta, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Peru, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Upper Volta, Zimbabwe.

Against: United States of America.

Abstaining: United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

The result of the vote was 13 in favour, 1 against, and 1 abstention.

The draft resolution was not adopted, the negative vote being that of a permanent member of the Council.

253. Mr. CHAMORRO MORA (Nicaragua) [*interpretation from Spanish*]: Before the debate closes on the acts of aggression against my country, I wish to thank members of the Council who voted for the draft

resolution submitted by my Government. I wish also to thank the representative of the United Kingdom for his abstention, which represents a significant understanding of the gravity of the subject of our present complaint—the mining of our ports, which amounts to a military and trade blockade against my country.

254. I wish also to say that my delegation sincerely made the greatest efforts possible—it made enormous efforts—to try and obtain consensus in the Council on the draft resolution. We worked very closely with the non-aligned members of the Council, we were in constant contact with other members of the Council, and we embodied most—I would even say 99 per cent—of the positive suggestions made by many members of the Council.

255. We never thought of coming here to hold discussions and submit a draft resolution that would not be adopted by the Council because of a veto by a permanent member. On the contrary, our intention was to try and enable that permanent member to advocate and work for peace in Central America. That, unfortunately, was not possible.

256. Unfortunately, too, the veto cast today has given a clear answer to the final question in my last statement addressed to the representative of the United States. I asked him when the United States would hear the universal outcry and halt the dirty, undeclared war that it was waging against my country. The veto cast by the United States today against the draft resolution is a clear reply: there is no intention to halt that war of aggression and no intention to stop mining our ports.

257. For this reason we are obliged to continue trying to acquire the appropriate technological and military means to defend ourselves against this war of aggression. Given the meagre resources at our disposal, we would have preferred to dedicate our efforts to our people's social and economic advancement, but who knows how long we shall be forced to defend our sovereignty and territorial integrity?

258. I can guarantee, however, that once again, in Nicaragua, the Bible story of David and Goliath will be fulfilled; the mouse will defeat the elephant; the children of Sandino will rise again and vanquish the invaders.

259. Mr. SORZANO (United States of America): The representative of Nicaragua is, of course, free to interpret the American vote in any way he pleases. I just want to reiterate that our vote has been explained in our explanation of vote and, as we have said many times before, we say what we mean and mean what we say.

The meeting rose at 8.30 p.m.

NOTES

[1] General Assembly resolution 2625 (XXV), annex.
[2] General Assembly resolution 36/103, annex.

كيفية الحصول على منشورات الامم المتحدة

يمكن الحصول على منشورات الامم المتحدة من المكتبات ودور التوزيع في جميع انحاء العالم . استعلم عنها من المكتبة التي تتعامل معها أو اكتب الى : الامم المتحدة ،قسم البيع في نيويورك او في جنيف .

如何购取联合国出版物

联合国出版物在全世界各地的书店和经销处均有发售。请向书店询问或写信到纽约或日内瓦的联合国销售组。

HOW TO OBTAIN UNITED NATIONS PUBLICATIONS

United Nations publications may be obtained from bookstores and distributors throughout the world. Consult your bookstore or write to: United Nations, Sales Section, New York or Geneva.

COMMENT SE PROCURER LES PUBLICATIONS DES NATIONS UNIES

Les publications des Nations Unies sont en vente dans les librairies et les agences dépositaires du monde entier. Informez-vous auprès de votre libraire ou adressez-vous à : Nations Unies, Section des ventes, New York ou Genève.

КАК ПОЛУЧИТЬ ИЗДАНИЯ ОРГАНИЗАЦИИ ОБЪЕДИНЕННЫХ НАЦИЙ

Издания Организации Объединенных Наций можно купить в книжных магазинах и агентствах во всех районах мира. Наводите справки об изданиях в вашем книжном магазине или пишите по адресу: Организация Объединенных Наций, Секция по продаже изданий, Нью-Йорк или Женева.

COMO CONSEGUIR PUBLICACIONES DE LAS NACIONES UNIDAS

Las publicaciones de las Naciones Unidas están en venta en librerías y casas distribuidoras en todas partes del mundo. Consulte a su librero o diríjase a: Naciones Unidas, Sección de Ventas, Nueva York o Ginebra.

Litho in United Nations, New York 00400 90-61313—January 1993—2,050